

**DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION:
IMPACT ON LOW INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS IN
MID-SIZED CITIES IN THE
POST-INDUSTRIAL NORTH EAST**

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION.

The years after World War II witnessed numerous efforts by federal, state and local governments to revitalize the decaying and declining areas within cities. These efforts in central cities and later in mid-sized cities were shaped by compelling transformations in political economies. The fundamental changes were the dispersal of jobs and populations to alternative suburban locations and subsequent decline of older industrial centers.¹ These were followed by the decline of manufacturing and a shift to service based economy.² These changes forced cities to undertake efforts to restructure their economies, mainly by promoting conversion from industrial to service based activities. Such an effort in turn, required dramatic alterations in their physical structure, economic mix, and neighborhoods. At the present, globalization of economy, acceleration in the disproportionate concentration of the poor, Blacks and Hispanics in large cities, rapid decline and suburbanization of low skilled jobs traditionally held by significant segments of these populations³, informal economy and renewed growth of immigrant communities have added a new dimension to the urban scenario, which earlier efforts at revitalization have not addressed.⁴ Recent urban decline has also been affected by a variety of other processes such as reductions in federal support for housing, escalating prices of housing and changes in financing.⁵

URBAN RENEWAL AS A RESPONSE TO RESTRUCTURING.

As a response to adverse economic trends that challenged their traditionally secure economic position and threatened the vitality of downtown cities embarked on a process

¹. Kantor, 1988, p. 253.

². Sassen, 1991, p. 466.

³. Lynn, 1988.

⁴. Sassen, 1991.

⁵. Hartman, 1986.

of revitalization in an effort to diversify their economies and attract new capital investment. In this process, urban renewal played a vital role in supporting the redevelopment efforts of the cities. The federally funded urban renewal program provided funds and authority for cities to begin physical conversions of downtown cores to serve as new service centers for the multilocal economy.⁶ Thus it encouraged the changes which were required by cities to respond to the new conditions brought in by economic restructuring and suburbanization.

TRENDS IN MID-SIZED CITIES.

The structural changes did not necessarily have the same impacts on mid-sized cities as in their larger counter parts, especially in the earlier stages. While the larger cities declined due to suburbanization of jobs and people, their loss was the mid-sized cities' gain. The mid-sized cities' economy improved due to the influx of industries and middle class resulting in a greater employment base as well as a larger tax-base. In the initial years while the center cities showed a decline, mid-sized cities experienced growth. However, though the mid-sized cities grew, their downtowns centered around the main streets did decline due to the spurt of suburban shopping malls with convenient highway accesses which lured the shoppers and jobs away from the downtown. This suburbanization, abetted by the transformation of economy from manufacturing to service based, and the globalization of jobs,⁷ compelled the mid-sized cities to resort to revitalization strategies that larger cities were already implementing. Presently, in the light of global restructuring and the cutbacks in federal funds, the capacity of local governments to respond to these changes has greatly diminished as larger translocal forces have more weight than local policies in shaping urban economies.⁸ The local policies are greatly influenced by national policies and by the economic revenue provider groups,

⁶. Kantor, 1986, p. 255.

⁷. Sassen, 1991.

⁸. Castells, 1989.

particularly mobile businesses and corporations.⁹ The national policies themselves have not escaped the influence of economic restructuring and the global forces that are a part of it.¹⁰

EFFECTS OF REVITALIZATION EFFORTS.

Downtown revitalization projects caused significant physical transformations in the heart of urban America. The resulting social and economic disruptions in whole regions accelerated the decline of downtowns in the guise of noble goals.¹¹ It is a general belief that, from large to medium, from remote to familiar examples, it is possible to draw conclusions that are applicable to development patterns in almost every community in this country as the principles and patterns do not vary greatly. The core area revitalization projects produced a continuous flow of displaced persons and small businesses. As much as one-fifth of the city's population was uprooted as in the case of the city of New Haven.¹² This trend is also evidenced by the fact that nation-wide, as of June 1967, 400,000 residential units had been demolished from the downtowns due to urban renewal projects while only 10,760 low-rent house-holds had been built.¹³ Due to revitalization plans, community and social networks were destroyed. This was orchestrated in part by the very officials who sought to stop decay and eliminate slums.

Ironically, renewal has not always resulted in an improved economy for the cities. Data on residents and economy of numerous cities indicate that cities, most notably northern manufacturing ones, ended the 1980's in the same place as they started out in 1950's, despite all the money spent to avoid that fate.¹⁴

⁹. Kantor, 1986, p. 253.

¹⁰. Sassen, 1991.

¹¹. Grantz, 1989.

¹². Fainstein et. al., 1986.

¹³. National Commission on Urban problems, "Building the American City," 1969, p. 163.

¹⁴. Fainstein et. al., 1986.

These impacts of urban renewal gain significance in the light of restructuring due to which urban problems have become more complex.

PROBLEM STATEMENT.

The problem this thesis seeks to address is the displacement of low-income neighborhoods in downtowns of mid-sized cities as a result of revitalization strategies. Despite the outcomes of extensive studies and research on urban renewal, which have highlighted the failures of grandiose schemes, inappropriate and unnecessarily expansive schemes are still destroying the physical and social structure of the downtowns in mid-sized cities in the name of revitalization. Thus alternative directions are imperative before we lose the opportunity to renew our downtowns. This thesis explores the alternative directions which can be taken to achieve the pronounced goals with minimal, if any, damage.

The questions that the thesis attempts to answer are:

What have been the effects of various revitalization strategies on low income neighborhoods in the past?

What have been the outcomes of programs undertaken in Middletown?

What are appropriate strategies to ensure true revitalization in the context of current economic restructuring?

HYPOTHESIS.

More often than not, downtown revitalization strategies in mid-sized cities have mirrored those of large cities in an effort to combat the decline of their downtowns. It is not certain whether these strategies in mid-sized cities have achieved their stated objective of improving the life of the downtown residents.¹⁵ My hypothesis is that large-size city strategy adopted in mid-sized city is not always successful in combating decline or improving the lives of residents. Due to the inherent physical, economic and social differences between large cities and mid-sized cities the magnitude and character

¹⁵. Grantz, 1989.

of issues are different and thus the strategy has to respond to other local factors.

MID - SIZED CITIES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

The selection of a mid-sized city as a case study was influenced by two factors. First, the growing importance of mid-sized cities in the national scene and second, the fact that the effects and outcomes of renewal schemes in mid-sized cities have not been as well researched as compared to large cities. Mid-sized cities have captured a greater share of population and have multiplied in numbers in the last thirty years due to the processes of urbanization, metropolitan decentralization, and consequent population redistributions. Figures indicate that approximately 6 out of 10 people live in incorporated cities with populations ranging from 10,000 to 50,000.¹⁶ In 1950, 11.7% of the total population lived in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 population. This population increased to 14.1 % in 1960 and to 15.8% in 1970. The number of these cities increased 54% from 1960's to 1970'. These numbers indicate that mid-sized cities are increasingly being preferred as living places by people and are growing fast.

Despite these trends little attention has been paid to mid-sized cities and larger cities like New York, Chicago, Los Angeles continue to be the center of focus. Very little research has been done on mid-sized cities and a coterie of strategies applicable to mid-sized cities has not been developed. As a result of this lack of direction, planners in mid-sized cities follow the dogmatic policies that are adopted in large cities.

It is not just the population growth that makes small cities important but also the fact that there are other differences which should have influenced the adaptation of policies in these cities but have not. The strategies of urban revitalization adopted in the larger cities have been duplicated by these smaller cities due to three reasons. First, because the strategies reflected the prevalent government ideology. Second, implementation of these strategies were facilitated by federal and state government funding. The mid-sized cities needed these funds desperately to undertake any

¹⁶. Herrington, 1976, p. 14.

development, irrespective of their local ideologies. Third, there was lack of any alternative revolutionary local initiatives. My contention is that despite the similarities in revitalization strategies, the outcomes were different indicating that the same policies adopted in mid-sized cities did not have achieve similar results as in large cities, due to the inherent dissimilarities between large cities and mid-sized cities. The differences are many and the prominent ones are enumerated here.

Apart from the smaller size of population, which downsize the magnitude of problems in mid-sized cities, economy is a major difference. While the economy of downtowns in large cities is multi-faceted and closely linked to the global economy, that of mid-sized cities is fragile. For example, moving out of a major retail chain store, or the emergence of a retail mall in the suburbs might not create a dent in the downtown of a large city but would have major repercussions on the downtowns of mid-sized cities. Moreover co-existence with other towns around is not important for a large city which functions as a self-sufficient identity. Mid-sized cities depend on larger ones in proximity or are inter-dependant on each other for services, facilities, jobs, transportation linkages, social services and so on.

The second difference is the greater ethnic diversity in large cities as compared to more homogenous, traditional populations in mid-sized cities. The mid-sized cities have been insulated from the influx of immigrants and southern Blacks which characterize large cities. This is evident from the statistics on population which reveal that Middletown's population consists of 85.4% whites as compared to 11.1% Blacks and 3.3% Hispanics of any race. This homogeneity of population has significant policy implications.

Third aspect relates to the physical size. The extensive areas of large city downtowns permit a wide range of plans to be adopted. The physical size of downtowns in mid-sized cities restricts the number and nature of plans that can be undertaken. For example an indoor mall in New York would cover a very small area of its downtown

while a mall of similar size would engulf the whole of downtown in a mid-sized city. The physical size also affects other aspects such as transportation, parking etc.

In light of these apparent differences, the revitalization strategies in mid-sized cities should have called for greater adaptation to local conditions of federal government revitalization efforts but unfortunately did not.

Apart from these differences, there are other factors which increase the importance of focusing on mid-sized cities. The extent of damage done to the social fabric of neighborhoods in mid-sized cities seems to be less as compared to that of larger cities. Thus it might be less complicated to reverse the trends and adopt alternative approaches in mid-sized cities. These speculations have influenced the selection of a mid-sized city as a case study.

REASONS FOR SELECTING MIDDLETOWN AS A CASE STUDY.

Middletown (42,762 population)¹⁷ was specifically chosen as it is a very good example of a typical north-eastern city. Middletown grew at the banks of the Connecticut river and was a thriving manufacturing center. The river access brought in waves of immigrants into the town, who first settled in the downtown. Decline in manufacturing and subsequent decline in the downtown led to the adoption of urban revitalization strategies in the downtown.

The present downtown is a collage of redeveloped areas in the south, while the northern part of downtown, called the North End, was untouched by renewal and consists of low-income neighborhoods, single room occupancy shelter, soup kitchen and small businesses. The most recent redevelopment plan of the city to move the shelter and the soup kitchen and demolish a few houses in the North End failed to pass a public vote. The active interest of the community, the willingness of the public officials to respond to the community's concerns and the need for economic growth make Middletown an interesting and a relevant case study.

¹⁷. Census figures, 1990.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.

The thesis is divided into three parts. In part one, chapter one introduces the topic and chapter two, which is a literature review, examines the strategies of revitalization undertaken after World War II. The avowed purposes of these programs, their implementation, and outcomes with respect to the low income and minority residents are investigated.

The second part containing chapter three and four presents the city of Middletown as a case study of a mid-sized city. Revitalization programs undertaken in the downtown of Middletown after World War II are enumerated in chapter three. Chapter four examines the impact of revitalization efforts.

In part three, chapter five summarizes the issues and proposes recommendations for the future.

SOURCES

Research for literature review has relied on a wide range of articles and books. Reports issued by the government pertaining to each program have been utilized. As for information for part II interviews with past and present officials, affected population and voluntary agencies have been undertaken to find out about the characteristics of the programs and their outcomes. Data has been collected from the past and present project reports and documents. Minutes of public hearings held at the town hall have been an excellent source of testimonies of the people and elected officials. Views of the present inhabitants of downtown, business owners, community groups and organizations and church leaders have also been incorporated in the evaluation.

CHAPTER II:

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review served as a search for a planning paradigm which explained the political, economic and physical forces which shape the city and the neighborhoods.

THE NATURE OF CITIES - A POLITICAL ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

The political economic perspective was chosen as it focuses on the dynamics of class, race and physical form within the city and provides a germane context for reviewing the revitalization strategies which had physical, economic and social manifestations.

To provide a context for the discussion of political economic paradigm, it is essential to contemplate on the nature of cities. Cities are dynamic entities in a constant state of flux. Though the physical form, built over a period of time gives an air of permanence, the social and economic patterns are ever changing. But all changes, physical, social and economic, are slow and do not happen overnight unless external forces intervene.

In a capitalist society, the external forces are the private and public sector which affect the physical, social and economic life. Though most of the decisions are a result of the "free market" ideology of the private sector, public intervention is considered necessary to take care of the negative externalities. The government carries out needed functions which are unprofitable for private sector and which are for the "general good of the society." But more often than not, the decisions undertaken for the public good have unequal effects on different classes and groups of people within the city.

The political economy approach explains this inequity as being the result of class and racial conflict, existing built form and the profit maximization tendency of market forces.¹⁸ The political economists view the city as a site for class and racial conflict. Class and racial conflicts are embodied in any decision associated with physical and

¹⁸. Fainstein et. al., 1986, p. 2.

economic development and as a result some groups win and others lose.

Class and racial inequality is expressed in the form of the built environment. Some locations within the city are more desirable than the others, depending on geographic factors, local and national development, cultural and social factors. Locational advantages result due to developments such as transportation routes, proximity to central business districts etc. More often than not, the most desirable locations are occupied by higher classes with more political and economic power. In situations where they are not, there is a constant attempt by higher classes to gain possession of these desirable locations by displacing the existing inhabitants.

The quality and quantity of housing and ancillary social amenities are ever changing with time. In this process of change the existing character of built form (housing, land-use, amenities etc.) structures the class and racial conflicts with the upper income groups acquiring the best. This restructuring in turn influences and dictates the development of urban form.

In general urban development is uneven between cities and within cities. Private investments which lead to improvements in one area result in "decline" in others due to displacement of low-income residents from the former to the latter. Market forces do not achieve equilibrium but lead to cumulative advantages and disadvantages. Maximization of profits depend on segregated housing and commercial property markets, whereby low-income and especially minority groups are presented with a constrained supply of housing while upper income groups pay premium prices for their territorial monopolies.¹⁹ Government intervention is necessary to ensure that the benefits of development are distributed evenly and decline is arrested.

Within this broad context of city dynamics and government interventions, it is pertinent to review the factors which cause neighborhood decline. Three major theories

¹⁹. Ibid, p. 3.

of decline emerge from the literature review.²⁰ All three of the theories and recent writings have been reviewed here as factors enumerated by each of these theories seem to be inter-related.

THEORIES OF NEIGHBORHOOD DECLINE

The first two theories, the Orthodox Economic theory and the Dual theory focus on the owner-tenant relationship. The Orthodox Economic theory assumes complete economic rationality among the actors in the housing market wherein landlords and owners seek maximum utilization and profit. The theory explains neighborhood decline as being a result of "pulls" and "pushes" created by weakening of demand for housing in local markets. "Pulls" are positive factors external to the market such as construction of affordable homes in fringes of metropolitan areas which attract the middle class away from the downtown neighborhoods. "Pushes" are negative factors internal to neighborhoods such as immigration of low-income and minority families, and deteriorating conditions which cause existing families to leave. The outward-migration of upwardly mobile families cause values to drop and members of lower-income groups move in. Consequently landlords forgo improvements, anticipating lower rents. Lower maintenance discourages middle income families to move in and thus the process of decline begins.

The Dual theory assumes that the landlord-renter relationship is not just a profit based one but a reciprocal and personal one.²¹ The personal relationship causes landlords to charge less rents and tenants to assume responsibilities for proper upkeep. There is a strong sense of "neighborhoodness."²² The basic cause of decline is a breakdown of this relationship. The breakdown could be due to different reasons such as decreased homogeneity and weakening of ties of younger generations to their neighborhood.

²⁰. Solomon and Vaandell, 1982, 81-92.

²¹. Solomon, et. al.

²². Varady, 1991, p. 7.

The drawback with both these theories is that they do not specify the main cause of decline or the factors which actually lead to middle-class flight, decreased homogeneity or weakening of ties. Both the theories fail to take into account numerous other social, economic and political forces that prevail in and around the neighborhoods.

The third theory is the Radical theory which stresses the power imbalances between the different actors in neighborhood housing markets as tenants, landlords, homeowners and banks.²³ The decline of neighborhood is attributed to external forces such as public and private institutions, poorly designed housing subsidies, blockbusting, redlining and so on. To stop the decline in neighborhoods, reducing the power imbalances by empowering neighborhood residents, neighborhood self-help and community efforts are perceived to be the answers.

This theory gives a better explanation of all the forces at work which cause neighborhood decline. Since the causes are attributed to both the private and the public sector the explanation seems more plausible than the earlier two theories. This theory fails to take into account other social factors affecting the neighborhood and its residents which recent writings have illuminated.

Recent theoretical writings have included income and racial shifts as causes of neighborhood decline and criticize the belief that aging of housing stock is the primary cause of neighborhood decline.²⁴

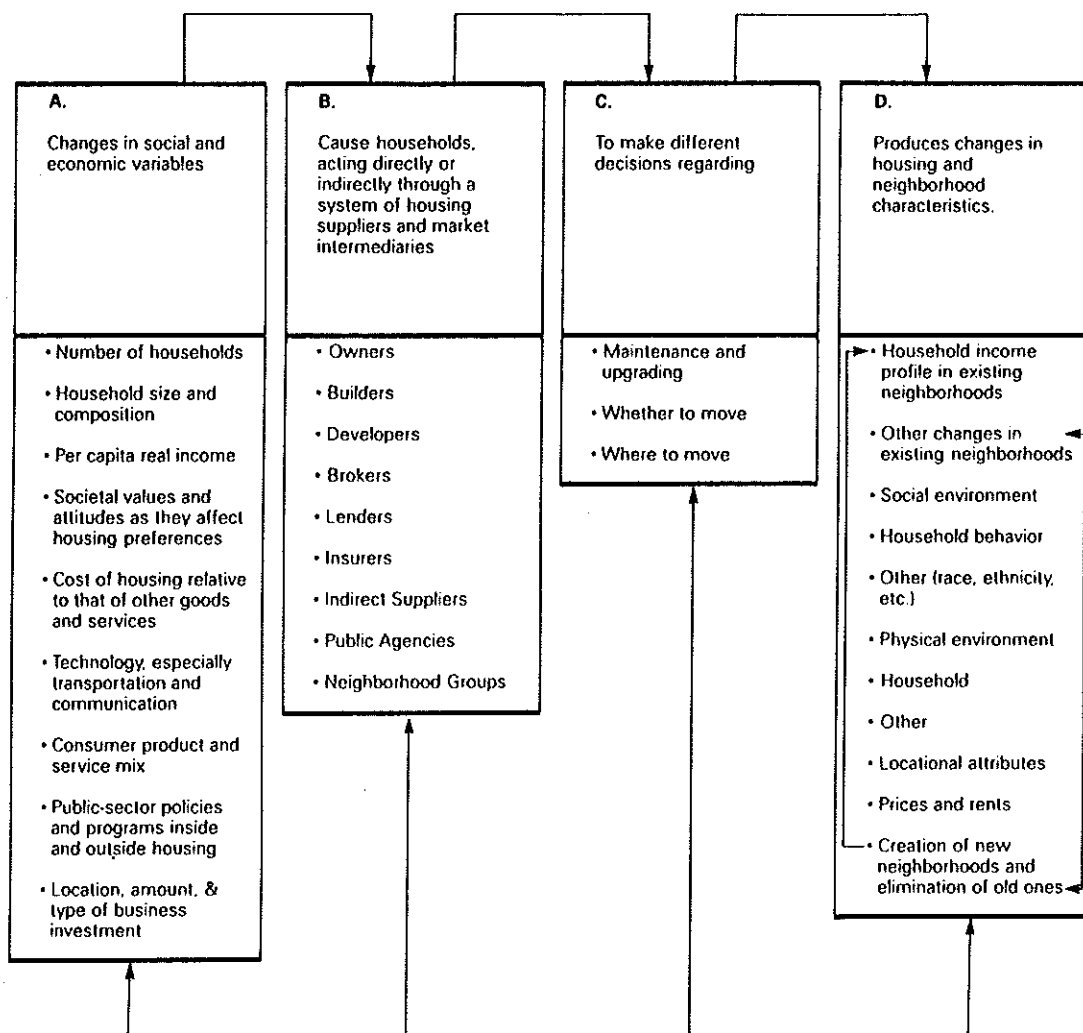
²³. Solomon et. al.

²⁴. Varady, 1991, Grigsby, Baratz, and Macleannan, 1984, p. 46.

Figure 1.1.

How social and economic changes
alter characteristics of housing inventory
and neighborhoods

(Read clockwise from Panel A)



Source: Grigsby et. al., 1984:33

The model evolved by Grigsby, Baratz and MacLennan suggests that changes in social and economic variables are the foremost reasons which lead ultimately to neighborhood decline. Physical deterioration is a consequence rather than a cause of population succession.²⁵ Changes, such as urban renewal result in displacement of low

²⁵. Varady, p. 9.

income families to adjoining neighborhood thereby initiating social and physical decline in those areas. Spatial concentration of low income families and lack of attention to facilities and services by the city agencies exacerbates the problems of poverty by contributing a sense of alienation and hopelessness. This in turn reduces the possibilities for social mobility.²⁶

Racial change is also an important factor and impossible to overlook in explaining neighborhood decline. Though most analysts attribute ghetto expansion and neighborhood decline to income rather than race, race does play a role.²⁷ For example, distrust between white landlords and black tenants causes the former to forego repairs and the latter to take an overly casual attitudes towards upkeep.²⁸ Recent writings further state that the rapid population turnovers resulting from white panic-moving or government programs, undercut the neighborhood's social fabric through the closing of churches, synagogues and other institutions thereby decreasing the feasibility of self help effort.²⁹

Thus the causes of neighborhood decline are numerous and inter-linked and cannot be generalized. Both internal forces within and external forces outside the neighborhood, as illustrated by recent writings, impact decline. These forces include income changes, social changes and displacement, spatial concentration, lack of adequate services by city agencies, disruption of neighborhood fabric through closing of local institutions, social and economic changes caused by national and local policies of government and not just physical deterioration. In recent times these problems have been fuelled by racial and economic changes brought in by economic restructuring, which have contributed significantly to the decline of neighborhoods. All these forces causing neighborhood decline have to be addressed while formulating a policy for revitalization.

²⁶. Downs, 1981.

²⁷. Varady, 1991.

²⁸. Ibid.

²⁹. Ibid, p. 10.

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE OF NEIGHBORHOODS IN DOWNTOWNS AND INNER CITIES

Since World War II, American cities experienced tremendous changes in their social and economical make up. Until the economic stagnation and political conservatism of the seventies, the U.S. grew richer and more populous. Expansion of welfare state mitigated poverty and improved the relative position of lower income populations.³⁰ The mid and late sixties witnessed the restructuring of the economy, from manufacturing industries towards high-technology production and services. These changes had geographic manifestations which were intensified by migration of southern Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Hispanics and other minorities to metropolitan areas. Suburbanization of both people and industry were dominant decentralization trends after World War II which resulted in poorer and blacker downtown neighborhoods with deteriorating physical environments.

A number of strategies were adopted in an effort to revitalize cities, downtowns and neighborhoods. The national policies focussed on areas of transportation, housing, physical redevelopment, human renewal and financing devices. Policies were a mix of decisions at different levels with federal, state and local government assuming varied roles.

The underlying assumptions of these strategies have been that benefits would ultimately help to ameliorate the conditions of declining neighborhoods, directly or indirectly by "trickling down." In this respect, from the beginning country's urban policy has purported to focus in whole or in part on neighborhood revitalization. The conventional wisdom that the federal government has a responsibility and can help to improve the physical condition of older deteriorated neighborhood has not changed till recently. Consequently various initiatives undertaken have reflected this ideology.³¹

³⁰. Plotnick and Smeedling, 1976.

³¹. Kaplan, 1990, p. 28.

Only recently have the policy makers and planners begun to seriously examine the role, impact and effectiveness of federal government intervention on neighborhood revitalization.

The policies of revitalization have focussed on places, neighborhoods or directly on the people and are summarized in table 1. "Place" policies have concentrated on physical environments, neighborhood policies have focussed on upgradation efforts and "people" policies have focussed on "disadvantaged people" living in these neighborhoods.³²

TABLE 1
PLACE, NEIGHBORHOOD AND PEOPLE RELATED REVITALIZATION INITIATIVES.

Place	Neighborhood	People
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .Urban Renewal and Development .Federal Housing programs (support for production) .Highways and Mass Transit programs .Model Cities .War on Property .Urban Development Action Grants .Community Development Block Grants .Enterprise Zones 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .Neighborhood Housing Services .Urban Homesteading .Neighborhood Strategy Areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .Welfare Assistance .Provision of or access to Services .Social Security/Income Enhancement programs .Federal Housing Programs (rent/lease vouchers).

Source: Kaplan, Varady and Fainstein et.al.

³². Ibid, 1990, p. 29.

While the "people" related programs have contributed immensely to improving the lives of low-income people, "place" and "neighborhood" related programs have had more impact on downtown neighborhoods. Further urban planners have had a crucial role to play in planning and implementation of "place" and "neighborhood" programs and thus they have been discussed in detail. Since the programs are many and complicated the analysis has reviewed only the effects of the programs. Description of each program is included in appendix I. For those interested in a detail study relevant references have been listed.

PLACE RELATED PROGRAMS

HIGHWAYS AND MASS TRANSIT

The Highway Act of 1956, which focussed on large-scale federal intervention in urban road system had profound effects on neighborhoods, specially low income ones in the downtowns. Improving the traffic flow became the main concern of the city officials and was achieved at the cost of community preservation and rational land development.³³

The effects of this program on low-income neighborhoods within cities were devastating. Countless households were displaced in the process of highway construction. The routes of new highways invariably passed through low-income, minority neighborhoods which were helpless to oppose these plans due to lack of political and economic clout.³⁴ The number of displaced households are unknown since even minimal record keeping and relocation assistance that accompanied urban renewal legislation were absent in the highway act for many years of their operation.

The decline of central city neighborhoods was brought about indirectly as well.

³³. Gefland, 1975: 222-227, Lupo et. al. 1971, 79-82.

³⁴. Fainstein et al., 1986.

Increased highway and rail linkages enhanced suburban growth, thereby resulting in middle-class and white flight from these neighborhoods. Expressways divided neighborhoods that escaped being totally wiped-off and alienated them by creating "chinese walls" between neighborhoods and rest of the city.³⁵ Robert Caro highlights the fact that though various highway acts were not for urban redevelopment, their consequences were often more far-reaching in terms of urban land uses and residential location than urban renewal and housing programs.³⁶

The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, which was a result of opposition to urban highways and the deteriorating conditions of mass transit, subsidized mass transit in an effort to help the inner city residents who were the primary users of mass transit.

But, figures indicate that the mass transit subsidies have helped suburban commuters more than inner-city residents and have provided easy access to downtowns from suburbs. In 1978, the average per trip operating subsidy to commuter rail passengers was four times larger than that to bus riders, who are downtown inner-city residents.³⁷ Also 76% of total subsidy was devoted to rail rapid transit and commuter rail, which accounted for only 27% ridership from 1965 to 1979.³⁸ Thus, the net result of these mass transit facilities has been to encourage inner city residents to migrate to suburban location from downtown neighborhoods.

FEDERAL HOUSING PROGRAMS

The 1930's witnessed the first interventions of the federal government in the housing sector which resulted in subsidized and regulated housing markets.³⁹ The initiatives began with the Housing Act of 1937 which shifted responsibility of

³⁵. Fainstein et. al., 1986.

³⁶. Caro, 1974.

³⁷. Pucher, 1987.

³⁸. Ibid, p. 389.

³⁹. Fainstein et. al., 1986, p. 15.

construction of public housing from federal to local housing authorities; subsidized private market by providing mortgage guarantees to build housing; and provided federal funding for housing.⁴⁰ Though, the 1949 Housing Act did authorize a greatly enlarged public housing program in an effort to provide "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family" the program goals were never met and by mid 1960's over half of new units built under the program were reserved for the elderly.⁴¹ The outcome of the Housing Act was an exodus of the middle-class to suburbs and the exclusion of low-income and minority residents from suburban locations leading to poorer downtown neighborhoods. The exodus of middle class was a result of postwar expansion of mortgage guarantee programs by Federal Housing Administration (FHA), growth of federally sponsored secondary mortgage market (FNMA and GNMA),⁴² and tax deductions for home ownership, which facilitated ownership of suburban houses by the middle class. The exclusion of low income residents from suburbs was due to proliferation of zoning ordinances which preserved most suburban residential areas for single family housing and the FHA racial restrictions on its mortgages till 1960, which ensured that the suburban ring would remain primarily white and middle class.⁴³ Since the subsidies for low-income housing remained modest low income neighborhoods in central areas of the cities experienced a decline.⁴⁴

The major thrust of the federal program in the 1960's was to make low income housing profitable to private developers.⁴⁵ After the moratorium on all housing subsidy

⁴⁰. For a detailed history refer to U. S. National commission on Urban Problems 1969; President's Committee on Urban Housing (1969); and Hartman, 1975.

⁴¹. Fainstein et. al., 1986, p. 15.

⁴². Federal National Mortgage Association and Government National Mortgage Association.

⁴³. Clawson, 1975.

⁴⁴. Fainstein et. al., 1986.

⁴⁵. Ibid, p. 16.

programs by the President Nixon in 1973, section 8 remained the primary instrument for the provision of housing assistance for households to obtain decent housing in the private market.⁴⁶

URBAN RENEWAL AND REDEVELOPMENT

The urban renewal program was first discussed in 1920's and 1930's as "district planning". It was a "slum clearance program" with the avowed purpose of "improving living for slum residents". Urban renewal was heralded as the solution to the problem of "blight".⁴⁷ The market for blighted inner cities and downtowns was shrinking due to the movement of middle income people and industry to peripheral areas. As a response urban renewal was formulated to revive the declining property values in blighted inner city areas. The coalition of downtowns merchants, large corporations, financial institutions, hotel owners, business owners, and private and educational institutions, wanted to repair and rebuild these areas for profitable commercial and high-income residential developments with government assistance.

The sociological rationale behind urban renewal was the traditional nineteenth century one - "that if slum dwellers were relocated in decent housing, they would give up their lower class ways and the social pathologies thought to 'breed' in the slums."⁴⁸ From the beginning the emphasis was an improvement of places rather than assistance to people.⁴⁹

Although the Housing Act of 1949 declared that the redevelopment area should be "predominantly residential" in character and that all displaced families should be relocated appropriately, it included no mechanism to induce private developers to build low-income housing. The "predominantly residential" rule, aside from helping to give redevelopment

⁴⁶. Solomon, 1977.

⁴⁷. Weiss, p. 55, Gans, 1991.

⁴⁸. Gans, 1991, p. 134.

⁴⁹. Fainstein et. al., 1986, p. 16.

some legal and moral legitimacy by linking it to the issue of slum housing, was meaningless because it did not prevent redevelopers to tear down low rent dwellings and replace them with high-rise office buildings.⁵⁰ The classic case of abuse was the Columbus Circle slum clearance Project in New York City by Robert Moses.⁵¹ The effects of urban renewal on well established, closely-knit neighborhoods more often referred to slums due to physical blight were two fold. First effect was the displacement of poor residents and second was destruction of neighborhoods to clear land for development of commercial, high rent residential and institutional uses. Affordable housing stock which the renewal projects destroyed were not replaced totally.⁵² While the 1954 Housing Act provided incentives for rehabilitation rather than wholesale clearance, demolition remained the mainstay of the program for most of its life.

WAR ON POVERTY

The situation of poor people in American cities gained focus under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.⁵³ The primary reason for this attention was the social unrest. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was the principal legislation for the War on Poverty program. The aim of the program was to improve cities by improving the lives of residents rather than the built environments.⁵⁴ Despite the fact that funds for physical redevelopment were not provided, the reason it is still classified as a place related program is that it did have a geographical focus. Neighborhoods were the focus and local Community Action Programs (CAP's) sought to co-ordinate social service within low

⁵⁰. Weiss, p. 66.

⁵¹. The designation of the area as a slum was based, on the argument that a small number of aging tenants at the end of the projects carefully drawn boundaries, constituting less than 1 % of total project area were "substandard" and "insanitary" - Fainsteins, 1974, p. 82.

⁵². Dyckman, 1960, p. 26; Anderson, 1964.

⁵³. Fainstein et. al , 1986, p. 17.

⁵⁴. Ibid, 1972.

income neighborhoods and create a neighborhood organizational base.⁵⁵ Programs prepared by the community were funded by federal dollars and provided community services, job-training, health care and other community development initiatives. When CAPs were terminated under Nixon-Ford administrations the various elements which were coordinated under this program became responsibilities of different federal departments and local governments. The most significant impact of War on Poverty program was to leave behind the incurable legacy of community groups and leadership.⁵⁶

MODEL CITIES

The Demonstration Cities Act was passed in 1966 under the Johnson administration. This Act, later called as Model Cities Act was a result of the 1960's revolt, resistance to urban renewal and a growing consensus that displacement of residents would not eliminate slums and improve neighborhoods.⁵⁷ The main thrust of this act was on neighborhoods and community preservation.⁵⁸ The multifaced approach emphasized "co-ordination of physical and social planning; rehabilitation rather than demolition; community participation; and a focus on target neighborhoods."⁵⁹ Model Cities scheme explored various programs of job creation, housing, education, social services in an effort to eliminate deprivation of slum dwellers. While Model Cities Act focussed on neighborhoods, urban renewal program continued to aid the private sector, and both terminated with the passage of Housing and Community Development Act in 1974, which introduced the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG).⁶⁰

⁵⁵. Fainstein et. al., 1986.

⁵⁶. Ibid, p. 18.

⁵⁷. Jacobs, 1961; Anderson, 1964; Gans, 1965.

⁵⁸. Frieden and Kaplan, 1975.

⁵⁹. Fainstein et. al., 1986.

⁶⁰. "Targeting Community Development", USHUD, 1979.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANTS.

The "New Federalism" which advocated a "clear and logical division among local, state and federal government" witnessed increased de-federalization, revenue sharing and authority for local governments.⁶¹ Under President Nixon CDBG supplemented seven previous programs including Urban Renewal and Model Cities.⁶² The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 attempted to consolidate federal assistance programs into a special revenue sharing program of CDBG. This was to encourage activities consistent with local planning and to improve co-ordination between federal and local agencies. Though federal regulations required targeting low and moderate income groups within designated neighborhoods and formulation of a citizen participation plan the benefits to low income neighborhoods were not profound and failed to prevent displacement.⁶³ This was partly due to the limitations of CDBG. CDBG could not be used for construction of low income housing, did not offer many benefits to renters and gave no guarantee that residents would not be displaced from "upgraded" neighborhoods.⁶⁴ After 1974 when urban renewal was terminated CDBG was the main source of federal funding to cities.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACTION GRANTS

After 1974, there was an increased emphasis on contribution from private sector to redevelop cities. Urban Development Block Grant program (UDAG) was introduced by HUD to supply funds to projects that would induce private investment. The primary purpose of UDAG was promotion of economic development.

The UDAG was to compliment CDBG wherein CDBG improved the area and grants from UDAG were used for specific projects. Businesses were given a subsidy to

⁶¹. Warner, 1989, p. 31.

⁶². Hagman and Juergensmeyer, 1986.

⁶³. Fainsteins, 1980.

⁶⁴. Fainstein et. al., p. 18.

operate in economically distressed areas, irrespective of where they came from. The municipalities could use the grants in any manner as long as they lured and nurtured private investment that created new jobs and taxes."⁶⁵

It is apparent that from its inception neighborhoods were never a concern for UDAG. Instead with CDBG it facilitated clearance of "slums" and building of skyscrapers, each new towering edifice proclaiming the "revitalization" of the city.

ENTERPRISE ZONES

The Enterprise Zone legislation was first introduced into Congress in 1980 and then again in 1981.⁶⁶ Under the Reagan administration Enterprise Zones were viewed as an alternative to existing programs and again the focus was economic development. The purpose of this legislation was to stimulate new economic activity in demarcated distressed areas by creation of new jobs.

The concept has been thoroughly debated and finally breaks down into an argument of equity verses efficiency.⁶⁷ Proponents stress the creation of small businesses and jobs; entrepreneurial opportunities by a less obstructed free market; expansion of tax base due to reductions in public assistance and increased employment; higher property taxes and increased tax revenues from higher business profits and payrolls; and tax concessions which would increase the areas' attractiveness to business and firms. Critics feel that the enterprise zone concept is based on erroneous assumptions about "how urban areas revitalize" and about "how businesses create jobs."⁶⁸ Some of the negative impacts as stated by opponents include unfair distribution of benefits to certain groups fortunate enough to be located in the zone and included in the program; rivalry between neighborhoods and cities; undesirable shifts of employment from an already declining

⁶⁵. Teaford, 1990, p. 269.

⁶⁶. Warner, 1989.

⁶⁷. Ibid.

⁶⁸. Bendick and Rasmussen, 1986.

area to the enterprise zone;⁶⁹ location of "paper firms";⁷⁰ loss of competitiveness of older firms which existed prior to zone designation; and gentrification due to higher rents and property values leading to displacement of poorer residents and marginal business.⁷¹ The displaced in this instance would not be eligible for relocation funds from the government as in other programs, because no actual taking of property occurs. Thus the existing residential communities and small vibrant business would be at a risk. Though the program does provide credits to employers for hiring local residents, opponents argue that tax credits are not sufficient to induce businesses to hire from the unskilled labor pool. Tax credits for hiring disadvantaged workers have been used by very few firms before. Even when they have been used the workers hired would have been hired even in the absence of the credits.⁷²

Since the emphasis of this program is on economic development, it is unclear as to how much it would actually benefit neighborhoods in distressed downtowns and other areas. It is assumed again that neighborhood upgradation and benefits would be a "trickle down" effect of economic development in the area, as in most of the earlier programs. History has proved that the benefits do not trickle down as expected and indirect effects of "economic development" are detrimental to neighborhoods as, more often than not, they result in displacement.

⁶⁹. Warner, 1989.

⁷⁰. These "paper firms" tend to be made up of sole venture capitalists, community traders or pharmaceutical firms whose major basis for income is the return to intangible assets such as product research and development. In these cases heavy reverse losses might be experienced by the federal treasury with relatively few jobs created in the zone (Bendick and Rasmussen, 1986).

⁷¹. Warner, 1989

⁷². Bendick and Rasmussen, 1986.

NEIGHBORHOOD RELATED EFFORTS

URBAN HOMESTEADING

The term "Urban Homesteading" was first introduced in 1970's. HUD's Urban Homesteading Demonstration (UHD) was enacted as section 810 of Community Development Act of 1974. It permitted HUD to transfer federally owned one to four family houses to cities using such properties as part of homesteading program. Cities selected were given a great deal of flexibility in administering local homesteading programs and hence were required to choose "declining neighborhoods which were not severely blighted and which had the potential of regaining their viability."

Urban homesteading was viewed as only "one element in a coordinated program of neighborhood stabilization."⁷³ The program was expected to stabilize the population in neighborhoods surrounding homesteading properties thereby salvaging decline and facilitating the upgrading of housing conditions.

The impacts on neighborhood were found to be minimal by the demonstration programs. It is likely that the short time span of demonstration and low density of homesteading activity partially explain this finding. Further, the narrow scope of homesteading and supportive services primarily aimed at physical housing problems prevented it from influencing the dramatic race-related shifts occurring in many of the UHD communities.⁷⁴

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSING SERVICES

This was a federally initiated program which provided technical assistance and financial support to neighborhood groups for revitalizing their area and rehabilitating their homes. The residents comprised a majority of board members and thus there was a high degree of resident involvement in the operation of the program. Further resident inclusion in board created a sense of trust among residents, lenders and city officials and

⁷³. Varady, 1986, p. 41.

⁷⁴. Ibid.

a sense of control over local conditions.⁷⁵

Although the NHS model has been widely viewed as successful in promoting upgrading,⁷⁶ the results of studies did not directly test for impact of the program on individual mobility and investment decisions, thus making it impossible to assess the effects of the program on non participating families.⁷⁷ Later studies of NHS by Urban Systems Research and Engineering Inc. (USR and E) did not indicate any evidence of improvement among nonparticipating families.⁷⁸ Further, not all cases studied experienced significant revitalization activity indicating that there might be other idiosyncratic factors such as physical location, attractiveness of neighborhood etc., which influenced the outcome.

NEIGHBORHOOD STRATEGY AREAS

The focus of the Neighborhood Strategy Area(NSA) was to strengthen neighborhood revitalization efforts by giving local governments control over section 8 substantial rehabilitation allocations for use in target neighborhoods.⁷⁹ The assessment of NSA's show mixed results and no strong conclusion is evident. While the NSA's did not appear to be improving vis-a-vis the rest of the SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area), they did not appear to be declining either.⁸⁰ The neighborhoods did undergo physical improvements but it is unclear whether the improvements were a result of better maintenance by city agencies or due to better property upkeep resulting from greater confidence by the residents. It has been difficult to evaluate the effect of NSA on individual household mobility, investment behavior, population shifts, or racial shifts.

⁷⁵. From a study conducted by Urban System, Research and Engineering Inc., 1980.

⁷⁶. Downs, 1981.

⁷⁷. Varady, 1986, p. 24.

⁷⁸. Ibid.

⁷⁹. Ibid, p. 27.

⁸⁰. Ibid.

But what did become evident was that neighborhood revitalization depended on numerous factors which ranged from physical and social to economic factors.

CONCLUSION

Since this chapter dealt with the overview of strategies on a national level it is not possible to draw specific conclusions. The outcome of the programs depended on the local factors affecting the specific place. It would be incorrect to say that the programs did not have positive outcomes. But it is evident from literature review that even after "place" type assistance many neighborhoods still have the problems that the assistance was supposed to solve.⁸¹ In neighborhoods that have improved it is difficult to say whether the improvements are a result of the programs or of changing economic, market and social conditions. Similarly, in the neighborhoods that have deteriorated it is inconclusive whether the programs themselves were ineffective or failed because of larger forces which the programs could not or did not address. Despite these uncertainties some common themes emerge which have implications to urban planners.

While the relationship between physical improvements and social-economic improvements (job, education, health care) is apparent, improvements in the former have not necessarily achieved the latter. This reinforces the conclusion from the literature review on neighborhood decline that socio-economic improvement is dependant on numerous factors other than physical improvements.

Further, examination reveals that economic development has always been the main motivation behind most of the revitalization strategies. It becomes clear that economic development of a certain class of people has always gained prominence. It is also apparent that the traditional assumption that economic development has "trickle down effects" not only to people but also to neighborhoods is not totally correct.

But, why have the revitalization strategies which did focus on neighborhoods also not achieved their goals?

⁸¹. Fainstein et. al., 1986.

One underlying assumption common to all the policies is apparent - the assumption by the policy makers that they knew which policies were best for these neighborhoods and their residents. Time and again it was said that exploring the factors responsible for the weakening social fabric and deterioration of neighborhoods was important so that those issues could be addressed directly. But the policy makers had more to say about the factors and the policies than the residents themselves. The residents, who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of the revitalization strategies were never consulted during the policy formulation. Hardly any efforts were made to understand the aspirations of the residents, their visions for the community or their wants. The planning process, whether it was for economic development, housing, urban development or revitalization did not encourage public participation.

One can conclude from literature review that the "expert" planners, architects, developers and government policy makers do offer sensible and appealing solutions to commercial and neighborhood decay. But they just don't leave much room for unconventional ideas or contributions from the "on-site expert", the neighborhood resident or the businessman. Genuine participatory planning and acceptance of public preferences is rare. For true revitalization to occur this has to change. The key is active involvement of the residents from the very beginning to the very end.

The second reason for failure of these neighborhood revitalization plans is the "formula" approach adopted towards revitalization. In most of the strategies the "experts" have reduced the solution to an exact repeatable formula in every state, city and neighborhood. In the words of H.L. Menken "for every complex and difficult problem, there is a simple easy solution.....and it is wrong." Each neighborhood has unique strengths and a particular character of people. The government programs were not geared to provide attention and care to each neighborhood's requirement. They gave in to the easy solution of letting large schemes engulf the areas. What is needed is a "public program of loose parts that can be assembled by circumstances, residents' desires and not

an assembly line."⁸²

The third reason for failure can be attributed to the officials desire for grandiose schemes which gain immediate attention. But "change" as a natural process is never sudden. It is gradual, non-cataclysmic and a response to genuine economic and social needs. Any intervention has to respect this slow process of change which is unique to each city and neighborhood. Quick fixes do not solve a problem but exacerbate it. The change has to create a "sense of place", that begins in the home, and extends towards the building, the blocks and the neighborhood."⁸³

The following chapter takes a closer look at the specific schemes undertaken in Middletown. This case study is an effort to examine in detail the outcomes of the revitalization strategies on people and places in a mid-sized north eastern city.

⁸². Grantz, 1989.

⁸³. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3:

CASE STUDY - MIDDLETOWN

INTRODUCTION

The case study focusses on the changes that have occurred in Middletown, Connecticut after World War II due to revitalization efforts and restructuring of economy. The case study specifically concentrates on the impacts of revitalization programs on neighborhoods in and around downtown. This focus has been prompted by the fact that not many studies have highlighted effects of revitalization efforts in mid-sized cities. Further there are two aspects which make this case study interesting. First, revitalization efforts in mid-sized cities have started after similar programs were already implemented in larger cities and the effects were well known. Due to this time lag the officials tried to be more sensitive to the negative effects of revitalization which had already been documented. For example the first urban renewal program in Middletown started in 1960's whereas that in New York started in the late 1940's. By 1958 Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia and other large cities had already availed of federal grants.⁸⁴

Second aspect is that these mid-sized cities have been insulated from the migration of Blacks from south and influx of immigrants from developing countries. Mid-sized cities have still preserved their homogeneous population make-up.

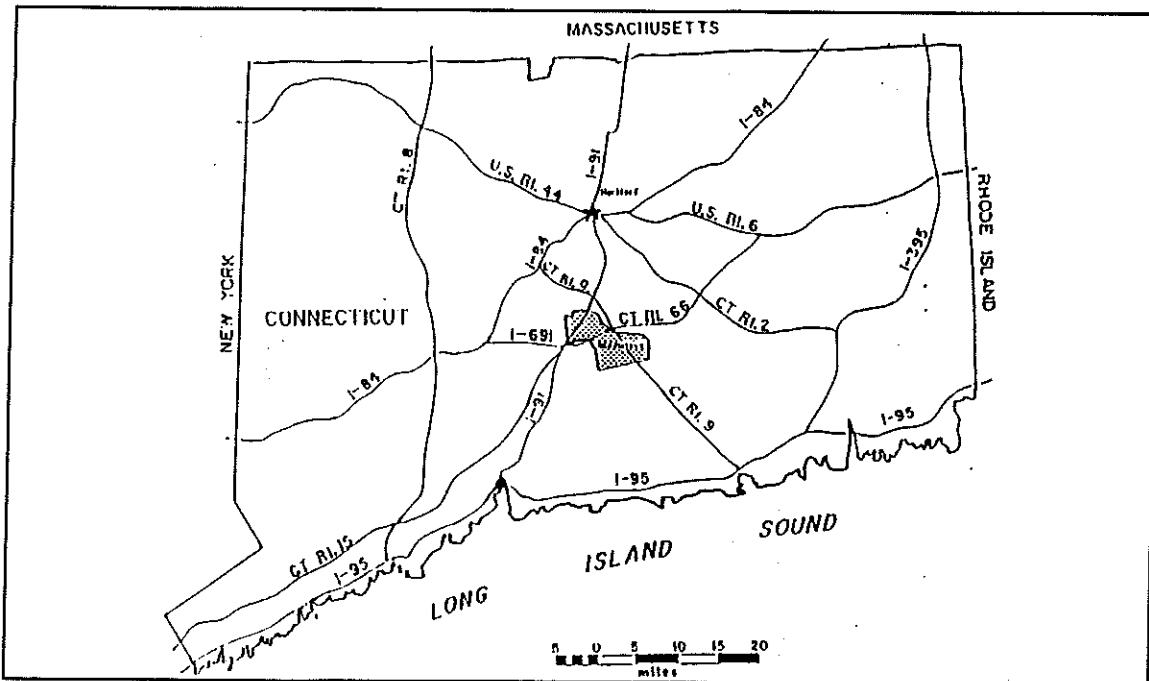
This chapter has two sections. Section I deals with a brief profile of the city, historic background, immigration patterns, and social, economic and physical characteristics in the present day. Section II is a narrative of the revitalization efforts undertaken in Middletown after World War II. An effort has been made to be as objective as possible in the description of revitalization strategies undertaken in Middletown to enable the reader to get an unbiased picture.

PROFILE OF THE CITY

Located in the central Connecticut valley, on the banks of the Connecticut river,

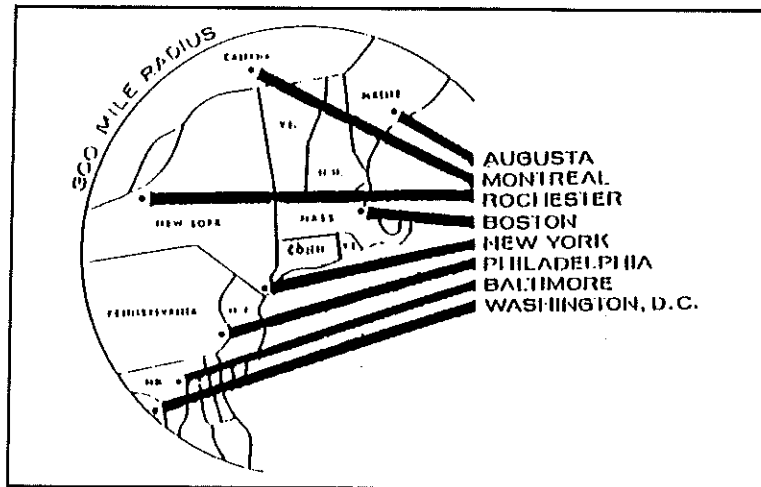
⁸⁴. Teaford, 1990, p. 107.

(midway between Hartford and New Haven) Middletown has a population of 44,762 (1990 Census).



MAP 1. REGIONAL LOCATION MAP

Source: City of Middletown, Planning and Zoning Department



MAP 2: DISTANCES TO MAJOR NORTH EASTERN CITIES FROM MIDDLETOWN

Source : City of Middletown, Planning and Zoning Department

The city lies within easy reach of Boston and New York City (map 2). Middletown is accessible by Interstate Highway 91, which connects New Haven and Hartford, a state highway Route 9 between Hartford and Old Saybrook, which in turn connects the city to Interstate 95. Location of Wesleyan University, a liberal arts college has made the city prominent on the map. Middletown can be said to be a typical example of mid-sized cities in north east which originated on the banks of navigable rivers. These cities were settled by puritans as agricultural centers, became industrial centers due to locational advantages, and have recently experienced decline.

Decline of the city's downtown in the recent years has prompted various revitalization strategies. The efforts have been encouraged and aided by federal assistance mainly from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first Puritan settlers from Massachusetts arrived in 1650 to the Connecticut river valley, a region inhabited by native Indian tribes. The area was called Massabec or Massabett, translated to "at a great river or brook." The area was later named Middletown for its location between Hartford and Saybrook, and the town was a part of the Mattabasset district. Middletown was incorporated as a city in 1874. The town and the city were consolidated in 1923.⁸⁵ At this time the city became one of the largest and most important cities in the state. After the American revolution, due to the decline of Middletown's status as a major agricultural center and port, local leaders set out to revitalize the economy in the 1830's. Numerous industries were established for textiles, hardware, cotton webbing, hammocks, ivory combs, gold spectacles, pewter goods, lace, rubber goods and fertilizer.⁸⁶ This period of economic revival experienced the first wave of Irish immigrants, who were welcomed as a source of cheap labor needed at the quarries and factories. In 1830, Wesleyan University was established and Middletown

⁸⁵. City of Middletown, "Basic Information about Middletown." 1991.

⁸⁶. Ibid.

became a prominent educational center. Between 1846 and 1868, the first railroad line was laid from Middletown to Berlin and subsequently Middletown was linked to Hartford, Saybrook and New York City.

The twentieth century witnessed a period of industrial and commercial prosperity. The city's population, 17,464 in 1900, increased to 21,000 by 1910 due to the influx of European immigrants.⁸⁷ Middletown was not as hard hit as other cities during the great depression of 1929 due to three reasons. First, not many had invested in stocks; second, local industries made an effort to keep the employees on payrolls; and third, citizens contributed to help the poor. Immediately after World War II, the economy revived as new age inventions such as the automobile and electricity stimulated businesses and road construction. During the prosperous post World War II era the economic base relied on sixty five manufacturing and industrial enterprises. The recent restructuring has resulted in a transformation from a manufacturing based economy to a service oriented one. At present Pratt and Whitney Aircraft, Aetna Life Insurance, North East Utilities, and Middlesex Mutual Insurance are the major employers.

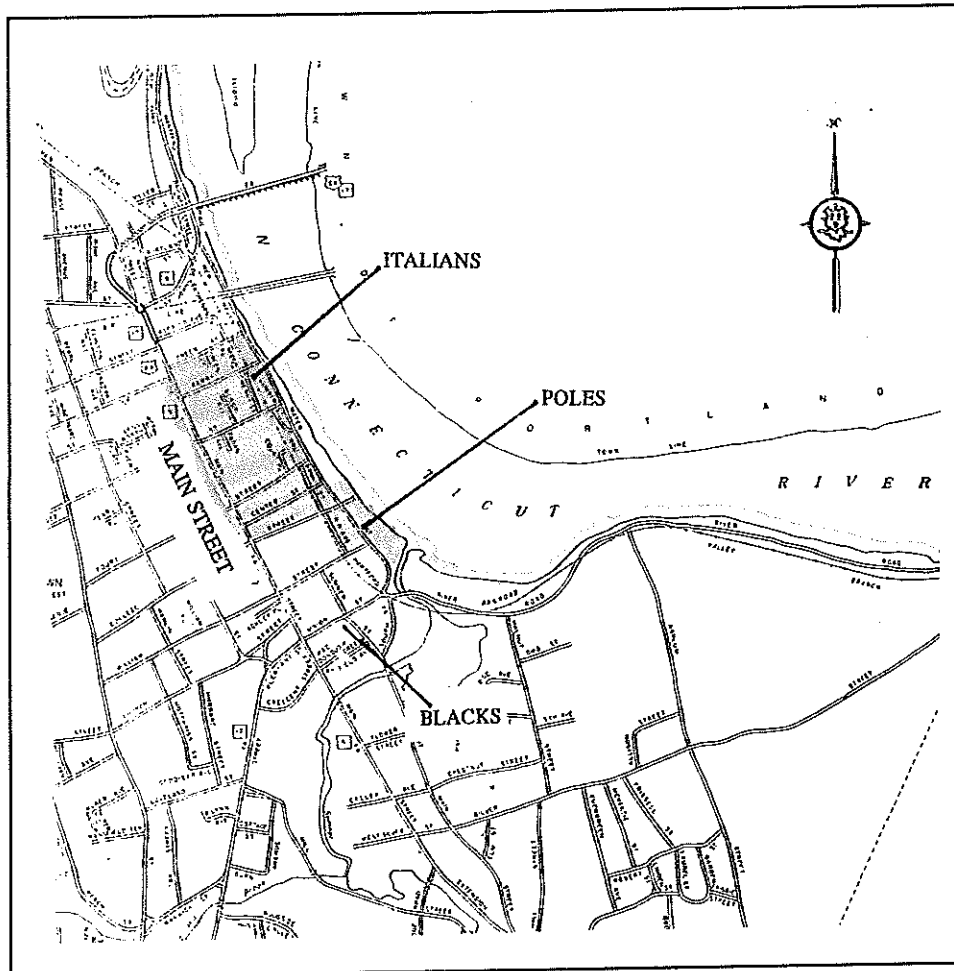
IMMIGRANTS AND NEIGHBORHOODS

Middletown has had its share of immigrants, though at a much lesser scale than larger cities in the recent years. The need for cheap labor to help accomplish economic revival after the decline of river trade, led Middletownians to welcome the first Irish immigrants during 1820 to 1850. At that time, the Irish were never more than a quarter of the whole population and thus were never a political threat to the established order.⁸⁸ The families settled in the tenements along the river, east of Main Street, which were later to be occupied by immigrants from southern Europe. As Irish families became more prosperous by the 1870's and 1880's, the families left the tenements and moved to nicer homes in the North End and South Farms districts which were on the periphery of

⁸⁷. Warner A. Elizabeth, 1990, p. 143.

⁸⁸. Hall, 1981.

downtown, closer to factories and small businesses. The assimilation of Irish-Americans accelerated with the new wave of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe which included Germans, Swedes, Jews and Poles.



MAP 3: IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENTS IN DOWNTOWN, MIDDLETOWN

Middletown experienced two significant waves of Jewish immigrants, from Europe and Russia after the 1870's. The first immigrants were prosperous urbanites from Austria-Hungary and Germany, while the second consisted of rural poor from Poland, Russia and Eastern Europe. A lively community developed along Sumner, Union and South Streets in close proximity to the factories in the area. The upwardly mobile people

moved out of the old neighborhoods, but only to nearby streets. The Poles, the second largest immigrant group arrived between 1880 & 1920 and clustered along lower College and Williams Streets, an area known as "Duck Hollow" due to its frequent flooding. Polish farmers, unaccustomed to work in factories, moved to rural homesteads abandoned by Yankee farmers due to unprofitable production after 1900's. The German immigrants seeking industrial employment congregated near the two primary industries - the Wilcox-Crittenden Company and the Russell Manufacturing Company in the South Farms district. Many businesses established themselves on Main Street and Washington streets (Map 3). Of the immigrant groups Swedes were the smallest and generally worked in factories and brown stone quarries across the river in the city of Portland.

Italians, the largest ethnic immigrants in 1880's, settled down along the streets leading to the river from Main Street, which had once been home to the Irish population. They were employed in small business or found jobs in factories. At that time, the community was self-sufficient, "families grew their vegetables in front lawns, spoke Italian to their neighbors and children and preserved the old ways of Mellili" (in Sicily).⁸⁹

The earliest African-Americans, relocated from southern states in the mid-twenties and settled in the areas north of downtown, close to their work place, the Tuttle brick yards. At that time, the small black community was integrated into the city. The African-American population increased after World War II, and by 1970 the population had increased to 3500, 10% of the City's population of 35,000.⁹⁰ The population concentrated in neighborhoods in the south end of downtown, which were completely demolished in the 1970's.

Between 1979 and 1985, almost 4,000 refugees from Cambodia, Thailand and Laos settled in Connecticut towns. These immigrants were sponsored primarily by

⁸⁹. Ibid.

⁹⁰. Ibid, p. 171.

religious charitable organization. Middletown and its neighboring towns received about 125 persons from southeast Asia. The existence of numerous ethnic grocery stores in North End suggests that these groups are primarily concentrated in that area of downtown. Also, the census reports of 1970, indicated that the downtown, especially the North End had the largest density of Asian groups.⁹¹ In the later years these groups have dispersed to areas generally nearer to the new employment centers in the outskirts.

PRESENT DAY MIDDLETOWN

Population: Middletown presently has a strong ethnic flavor due to the waves of immigrants who have made Middletown their home. At present, over 40% are Italians (mainly from Sicily), 20% are Poles, 10% are African-Americans, and 30% are of other groups such as Irish, Scottish, English and Jewish. Lately Scandinavians, Germans, Greeks, Japanese, Thai, Chinese, Indians and Brazilians have joined the ranks of the city.⁹² But unlike other large cities, where minority groups have increased tremendously, the total percentage of minorities still remains low as indicated by the following table.

TABLE 2
POPULATION CHANGES IN THE CITY OF MIDDLETOWN. 1970-1990.

Race and Hisp. Origin.	1990	1980	1970
White	36,533 85.43%	34425 88.18%	34225 92.69%
Black	4,747 11.1%	3748 9.6%	2496 6.76%
Indian/Eskimo/Aleut	74 0.17%	73 0.19%	-
Asian/Pacific Islander	826 1.07%	248 0.64%	119 0.23%
Other races	592 1.36%	548 1.40%	84 0.23%
Hisp.Origin (any race)	1,413 3.3%	1005 2.57%	-

Source: Census reports 1970, 1980 and 1990, Middletown, Connecticut

⁹¹. Even though actual numbers were greater in other tracts, the groups were more dispersed there.

⁹². Mainly Middletown, A Community in Midst of Change and Development. 1984.

TABLE 3
MIDDLETOWN LABOR MARKET

	June 1990	June 1989	Net change 1989-1990.
NON AG. EMPLOYMENT	48,390	47,400	+ 990
% change			+ 2.1
AGRICULTURAL EMPLOY.	1,500	1,530	- 30
% Change			- 1.9
GOODS PRODUCING INDUSTRIES	10,850	11,150	- 300
% Change			- 2.7
Construction & Mining	1,500	1,530	- 30
Manufacturing	9,350	9,620	- 270
Durable Goods	7,510	7,710	- 200
Nondurable Goods	1,840	1,910	- 70
SERVICE PROD. INDUSTRIES	37,540	36,250	+ 1,290
% Change			+ 3.6
Trans. Comm. & Util.	1,320	1,340	- 20
Trade	7,870	7,840	+ 30
Wholesale	1,650	1,510	+ 140
Retail	6,220	6,330	- 100
Finance, Insurance & R.E.	7,780	7,620	+ 160
Services	14,030	12,880	+ 1,150
Health Services	4,710	4,340	+ 370
Other Services	9,320	8,540	+ 780
Government	6,540	6,570	- 30
Federal	260	230	+ 30
State & Local	6,280	6,340	- 60
NON-MANUF. EMPLOYMENT	39,040	37,780	+ 1,260

Source: Dept. of Labor, City of Middletown

Economic Base: In recent years due to economic restructuring the economy has diversified and shifted from manufacturing based and a defense-related economy to a service based one as evident by the Middletown Labor Market Area Statistics which shows the change from 1989 to 1990 (table 3). The growing sector in Middletown is service producing industry which has added 1290 jobs from 1989 to 1990. Of the 5 major employers, only one is manufacturing, while the others are health services, educational services, finance and Insurance. The largest employers are the Aetna Life Insurance and Pratt and Whitney aircraft, a division of United Technologies. Middletown is strongly influenced by the insurance industry.

Downtown: The downtown, with Main Street as its spine, has been the home to immigrants, businesses and commercial establishments from its beginnings.

The downtown's close proximity to the river led the earliest immigrants arriving by boats to settle here. The significance of downtown as an "entry point" continued even when the railroad replaced water-related transport because the main railroad station was located in the downtown. In the early 1800's buildings, hotels, many small businesses and railroad station co-existed with residences in and around the downtown. The 1950's and 1960's witnessed the relocation of residents and some businesses as suburbanization became the prevalent trend. This suburbanization led to the physical deterioration and economic decline of the downtown which set the stage for redevelopment efforts.

Funds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Transportation along with state, local and private funds have contributed to this ongoing process of redevelopment. The first revitalization efforts started in the central part of downtown between the riverfront and Main Street (map 3) with the construction of Route 9 along the riverfront. This was followed by urban renewal programs which focussed on the southern end of the downtown. In recent years the northern end of downtown has been designated as a historic district and has been the focus of numerous small scale restoration and

rehabilitation efforts. But for the most part, the North End neighborhood exists as it did at the turn of the century. This fact allows for interesting comparisons between the northern and southern end of downtown.

REVIEW OF DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION EFFORTS IN MIDDLETOWN

The review of revitalization efforts in Middletown is based on government reports, publications, existing literature about the city, and interviews with public officials and residents. The review is an objective narration of the revitalization strategies. The evaluation of the effects of strategies is included in chapter four.

Though all the revitalization efforts, from highway construction to the ongoing Community Block Development Grants, have been reviewed greater emphasis has been laid on urban renewal projects. This is because urban renewal projects have caused greater transformations in the fabric of downtown and affected a larger population as compared to the other revitalization efforts.

Whenever possible, presentation of each program has followed a consistent format to facilitate comparison and evaluation. The format followed includes stated reasons for the project, plans formulated, details about grants and funding, description of physical conditions on site and social characteristics of the residents in the site area prior to the implementation of the projects, relocation efforts and outcomes, and public participation in program formulation and implementation.

The magnitude of changes in Middletown's downtown due to revitalization efforts is summarized in the following quote by Elizabeth Warner - "If a person living in Middletown in 1954 suddenly found himself on the corner of Main and College Streets in 1984, the view would be almost unrecognizable."⁹³ Those thirty years from 1954 to 1984 witnessed great changes due to revitalization strategies and transformed the downtown. Middletown used city funds as well as state and federal aid to undertake most

⁹³. Warner A. Elizabeth, 1990, p. 162.

of its revitalization efforts. Most of these efforts concentrated on the crowded residential neighborhoods in downtown. These residential neighborhoods were the first and only affordable homes to the earliest immigrants to Middletown.

HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION:

The earliest intervention was the construction of Route 9 in 1950's as a state highway along the banks of the river. The project was funded by federal and state monies. The neighborhood along Water Street, inhabited by Poles and Blacks, was demolished to make way for Route 9 (map 4).

Since this project was undertaken by the State Department of Transportation the city's involvement was minimal. As with other cases of highway building no records were maintained about the people who were impacted. Since the project was orchestrated by the state agency, it has been difficult to find any records in the city or elsewhere.

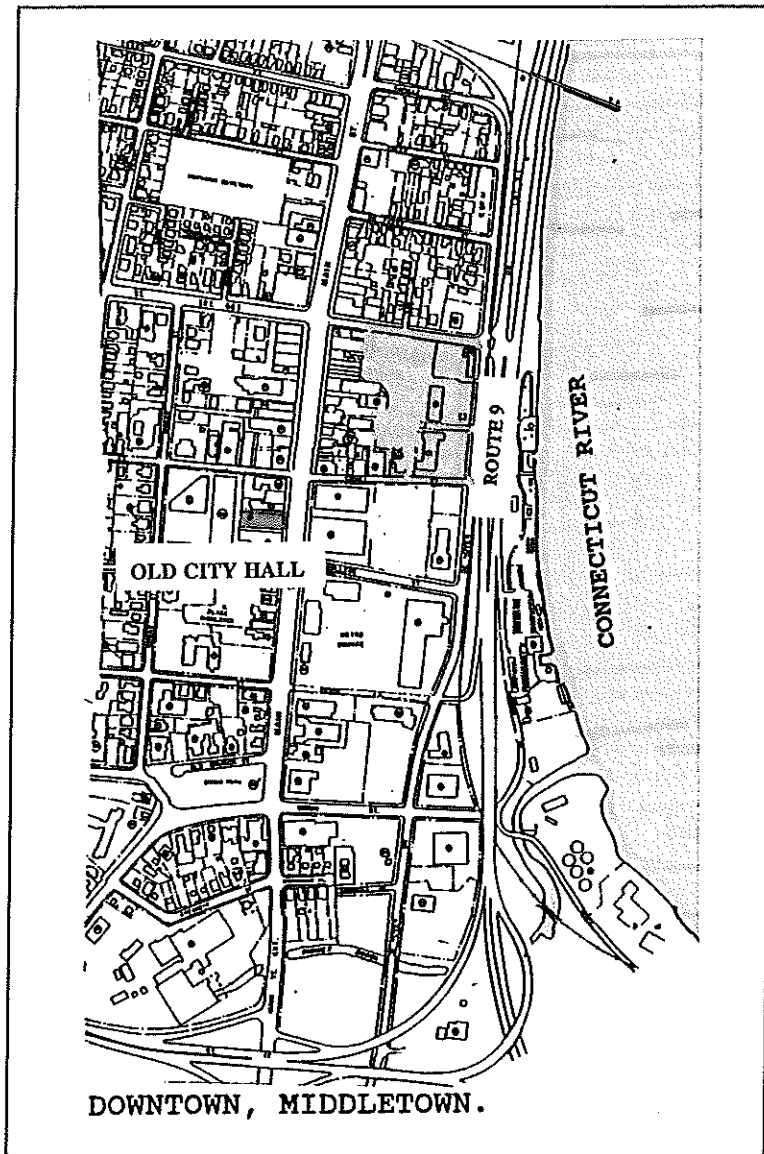
URBAN RENEWAL

COURT PLACE PROJECT:

Although Middletown did not receive federal grants for urban renewal as early as larger cities, city grants were used to undertake the first renewal project. The "bulldozer" style of urban renewal started with the Court Place project in 1957. Though not federally funded, this project is of significance as it laid the foundations for the "acquire, relocate, demolish, sell" strategy of the subsequent federally funded urban renewal projects.

Stated reasons for the project: The offices of City government and County administration were originally housed in the old City Hall on the western side of Main Street between College and Court Streets (map 4). The county administration was threatening to leave the city due to a lack of space for expansion in the existing building. The city government also needed more space than available to carry out its functions more efficiently. The Mayor proposed to create a new Civic Center in the area bounded by Washington Street, Acheson Drive (Route 9), Court Street and rear of Main Street

frontages by clearing the area of existing structures.



MAP 4: COURT SQUARE PROJECT SITE.

Plans : The original plan was to redevelop the area with a Civic Center, new housing, and parking facilities. Later the proposal stated - "it is strongly felt that sound planning is not served by placing residential uses in midst of an intensively developed

commercial and public use area. Commercial use produces more tax revenues than does residential use." Thus the emphasis shifted to providing greater tax revenues and a greater economic return to the entire city while ignoring the advantages of mixed land-use. The result was a Court building and a Municipal Building facing the river with parking for the new uses as well as for older existing commercial uses along Main Street. The frontage facing Main Street and part of frontage facing Court Street was preserved.

Grants: The project entailed a capital grant of \$160,350 of which \$26,100 was spent on planning for 18 months.

Existing conditions on site: At the time of clearance, in 1950's, the site was inhabited by 44 families and 3 businesses as indicated by table 4.

TABLE 4

COURT PLACE PROJECT - Number of Families, Persons and Businesses.

Total Persons	145
Families	44
Retail Businesses and Organizations	3

Source: Land Use and Dwelling Unit Survey, 100% sample, 1954, City of Middletown.

Old photographs (appendix VII) and records indicate that the area was a mixed-use area with residences interspersed with small businesses and social organizations. The families were low-income working class families and the rents in the area were low as compared to the city-wise rents. An intensive survey of the redevelopment area by the Redevelopment Agency and Committee on City Plan revealed that over 75% of all major structures in the area were substandard.⁹⁴

⁹⁴. Ibid. p. 9.

TABLE 5**COURT PLACE PROJECT - Conditions of Structures in the site area.**

	Residential	Non-Residential
Total	9	0
Sub-standard	7	0

Source: Structure and Dwelling Unit Survey, 1954, City of Middletown.

Nearly three fourths of dwelling units had no central heating, and over one half had no piped hot water supply. Over 40% of the land was covered by buildings and the open space available for recreational purposes was very little. The overall density of 76.5 persons per acre reinforced the substandard and unsafe conditions of the area. Police and fire departments stated that the area faced problems in public protection while the Health department declared the area to be "hazardous to health and safety."⁹⁵ These outcomes of the survey facilitated the redevelopment of the area by public agencies under Chapter 55 of Connecticut General Statutes which allowed intervention by public agencies and urban redevelopment aid to areas "beyond remedy and control solely by regulatory power, and which cannot be dealt with effectively by ordinary operations of private enterprise."

Relocation: Efforts were made to relocate all households. The relocation plan stated that families of two or more persons were the main concern and relocation of individuals was not a problem. Due to poor record keeping it has not been possible to analyze the effects of relocation in this project.

Public participation: As with relocation it has been difficult to examine what efforts were undertaken to involve the public in the planning and implementation stages.

⁹⁵. Preliminary Redevelopment Plan:Center Street-Court Place Redevelopment Area, 1954.

CENTER STREET RENEWAL PROJECT:

The federally funded urban renewal project was the third intervention in downtown. Planning for the project started in 1957, while the Court Place project was in progress.

Stated Reasons for the Project: Once again, as in the Court Place Project the motivating factor was the elimination of substandard housing and health and safety problems "beyond remedy and control."⁹⁶ This was evident from Mayor Bailey's address to the Chamber of Commerce 14 years later in 1971 ... "the mayor's office in the old city hall was on the fourth floor and overlooking the dilapidation between Main Street and the river. The scene was a daily depressant-- I had made fire inspections with Frank Dunn, and had seen and smelled the dismal overcrowding. I had cruised the area at 2.00 am with Johnny Pomfret (Middletown's Chief of Police) and had seen and picked up derelicts and drunks -- I knew that the concentration of our urban pathology was within four blocks that I could see from my office window. I knew that slums were cancerous."⁹⁷

Thus, redevelopment sought to develop the east side of Main Street into more productive and attractive uses. It was a general feeling among the proponents that the city had an "unparalleled opportunity to use this as a showcase." ⁹⁸ At first, the area delineated was 2 blocks, bounded by Court Street, Dekoven drive, College Street and rear of Main Street facades (Map 5).

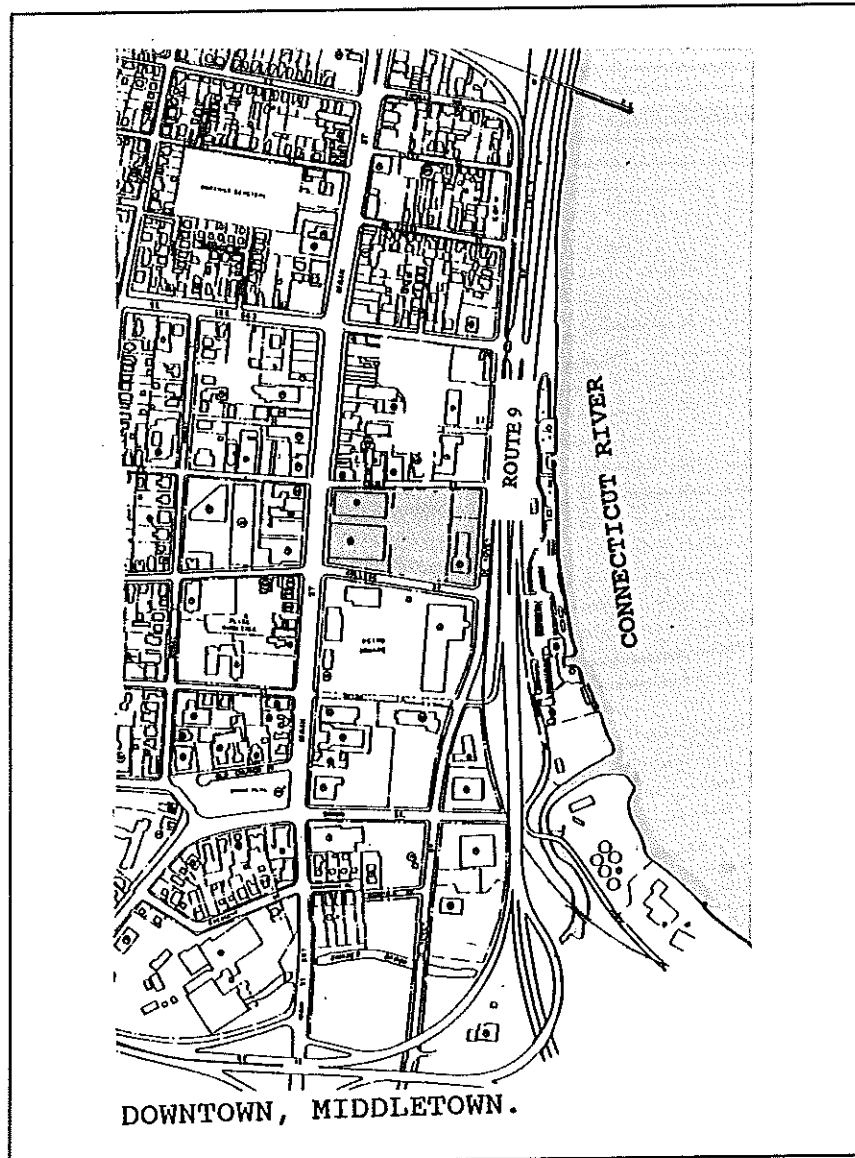
In 1960 buildings fronting the Main Street were also included for demolition. This was due to the assertions of the real estate consultants of the Redevelopment Agency that the rear area would have poor access due to the narrow Court and College Streets. Further, irregularities in the rear of Main Street buildings would create aesthetic problems

⁹⁶. Warner A.Elizabeth, 1990, p. 163.

⁹⁷. Ibid, p. 163.

⁹⁸. Community Renewal Program, 1964.

which would limit disposition possibilities.⁹⁹ This area was also thought to be the logical continuation of the earlier Court Place Project, towards the south.



MAP 5: CENTER STREET PROJECT SITE

⁹⁹. Ibid

Funds: The gross project cost for the Center Street project was estimated to be \$3,578,00.¹⁰⁰ (including survey and planning, property acquisition, demolition interest, project improvements, administration, engineering and legal costs)

The proceeds of land were \$410,000 and thus the net project cost was \$3,168,000. The cost was shared as follows.

Federal grants	\$2,112,000	(66.7%)
State	458,000	(14.5%)
City	597,000	(18.8%)

The total grant for re-location of \$138,000 was provided by the federal government. Thus the total federal grant amounted to \$2,250,000.

The federal grant was given on the condition that the city would provide utilities and site improvements which amounted to \$181,000. These facilities also served adjacent areas and became capital assets of the city. Ultimately, the city's share consisted of only grant in-aid contributions for parking and site improvements.

The annual tax revenue from the project before demolition was \$37,000 and was predicted to increase substantially. The Redevelopment Agency reported that the annual rent from the leased parking facility would be sufficient to pay the interest and principal of the general obligation bonds issued for its construction.¹⁰¹ It was also predicted that city investment would encourage larger private investment and the total economic activity generated would be more than \$7,000,000

Plans: Originally, the project was supposed to contain civic uses, modern apartments, office buildings, retail and comparable uses. Later civic uses and residential uses were excluded as the previous Court Place project had satisfied the demands for civic uses and land values were too high to permit residential uses. Thus commercial uses accompanied with parking facilities were deemed more suitable over any residential

¹⁰⁰. Final Report, Community Renewal Program, 1964.

¹⁰¹. Ibid, p. 5.

use. In December 1962, the River Valley Development Corporation of Hartford was designated as the redeveloper who signed Sears Roebuck as its major tenant, and purchased the major portion of site. A River View center with commercial and office space was built next to Sears while the city retained the rest of the site as a parking lot. Recently, in 1992 the state started construction of a Court House on a part of the site to house the increasing facilities of the existing Court House which was built in the earlier Court Place project.

Existing Conditions: The renewal area consisted of two to three story wooden structures and housed the influx of immigrants in the late nineteenth century. The area had 183 families (including four black families), 21 single persons, and 28 businesses and organizations, which were displaced by the project.¹⁰²

TABLE 6
CENTER STREET PROJECT - Number of Families, Persons and Businesses.

Total Persons	535
Families	139
Total Businesses and Organizations	25
Retail	11
Wholesale	3
Service	4
Industry	4
Institutional/Fraternal	2
Utility	1

Source: Land Use and Dwelling Unit Survey, 100% sample, 1954, City of Middletown.

The physical conditions as judged by the city's criteria were bad. Three quarters of the dwelling units in the Center Street area did not have central heat, and half were without piped hot water. Further there was evidence that the area was rodent infested.

Relocation: The final project relocated 146 families, of which 4 were non-white.

¹⁰². Warner, A. Elizabeth, 1990, p. 163.

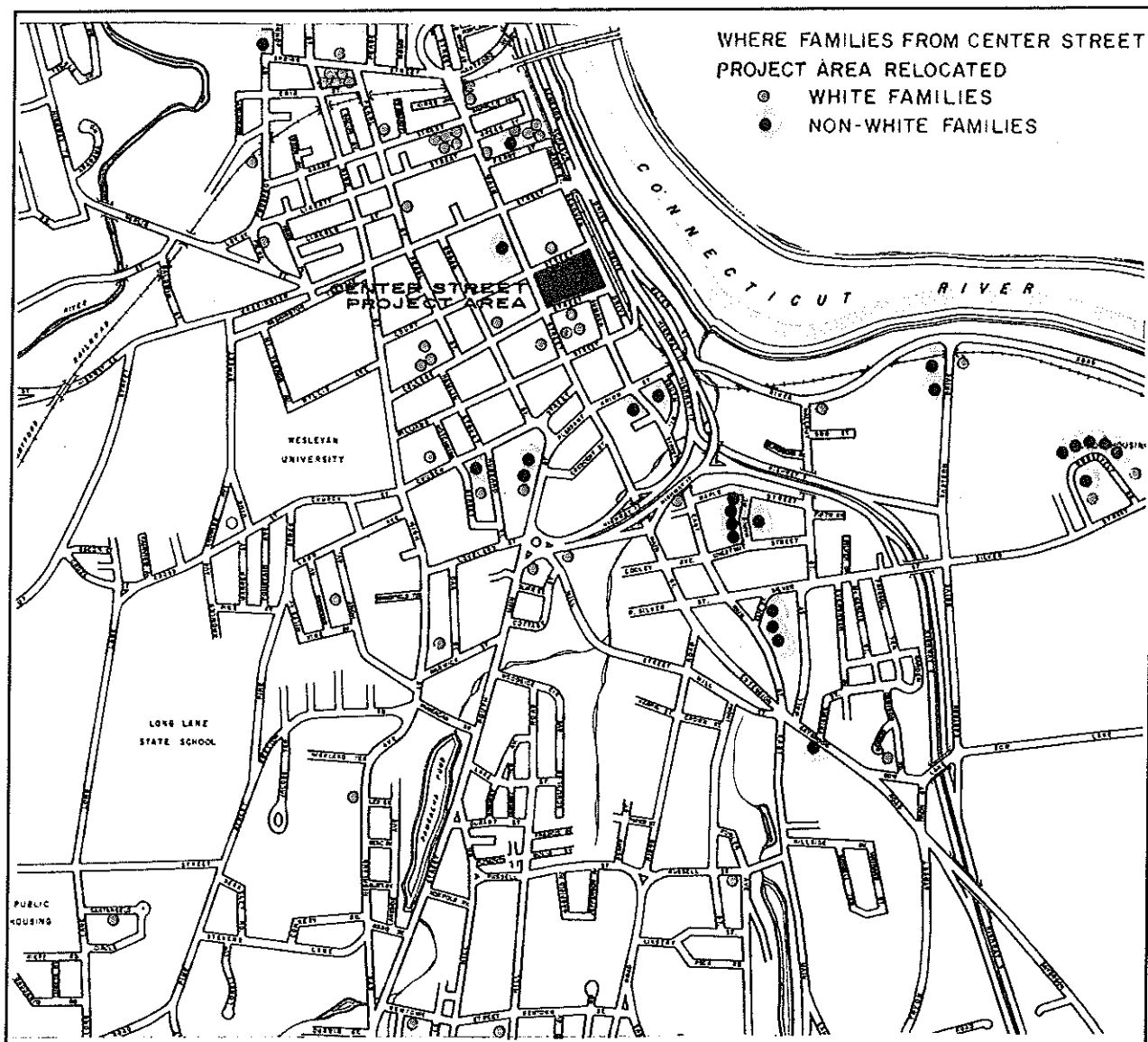
The relocation plan was a requirement for federal renewal grants. The relocation plan provided for a staff including a relocation officer, a combination assistant relocation officer and rental officer, a secretary, and civic volunteers. The actual relocation experience differed from the original plan in two respects. The acquisition time was delayed from twelve to thirty months, thus causing a delay in the relocation program. Although the relocation plan showed only four non-white families living in the project area, thirty five non-white families were finally in the work load. This was due to the moving out of white families and moving in of non-white families in the time period between submission of Part I of final Project report in December, 1957 (when displacement became imminent) and July 1959 (when displacement actually happened). The most difficult problem, as stated by the reports, was the relocation of low-income minority residents and very large families, but eventually satisfactory quarters were found for them (table 7).

TABLE 7
CENTER STREET PROJECT - Relocation of Families.

Home Purchase	21
Public- Housing Eligible	
Federal Low rent	17
State Moderate Rental	63
Total Public Housing	80
Private Rental Housing	
Families of 2 or more	38
Single Persons	20

Source: Land Use and Dwelling Unit Survey, 100% Sample, 1954, City of Middletown.

The report further states that the displaced, both renters and owners moved to better housing. FHA 221 financing enabled families to move to bigger houses too. The places that the families relocated are shown on map 6.



MAP 6: FAMILY RELOCATION FROM CENTER STREET PROJECT

Source: Community Renewal Program, Middletown

Mayor Bailey stated in his 1953 redevelopment report-"there is every expectation that sufficient adequate private rental will be found for families displaced from the project area."¹⁰³ For public housing clients 190 federal low-rent units and 126 state moderate

¹⁰³. Ibid, p. 164.

rental units scattered throughout the city were made available. These included Long River Village public housing project which was built as veterans housing after World War II. State funded 162 moderately priced rentals were also constructed on Long Lane and Wadsworth Lane (map 6). The Redevelopment Agency also provided financial assistance to cover moving expenses and duplicate rent payment in hardship cases.

Contrary to all these plans reports indicate that only 31% of the families eligible for low-rent housing were actually relocated to such housing.¹⁰⁴

Public Response: Records indicate that the project was met with resistance from the residents and local business owners. This is evidenced by the fact that the first public referendum was defeated in June 1958. Also there was resistance among owners to sell properties voluntarily at prices in line with appraisals and HHFA approved prices because of the feeling that they were too low. Second time the public referendum was approved. Other than the formal public hearing no efforts seem to have been made to include public input during the formulation of renewal plans.

SOUTH END RENEWAL PROJECT

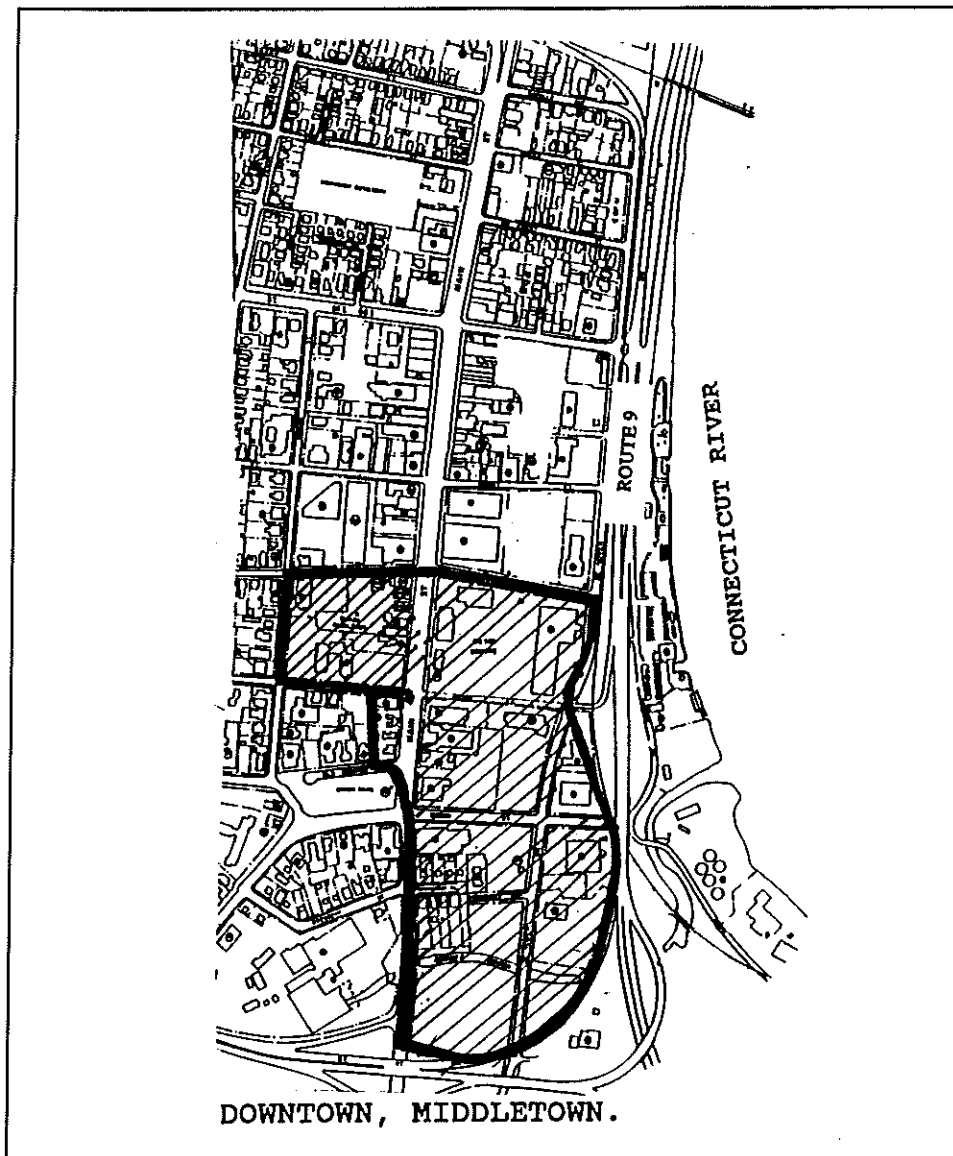
This was the fourth phase of renewal undertaken in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The project was sponsored by United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Stated Reasons for the Project: The early 1960's saw the beginning of planning for the Community Renewal Program (CRP). The areas in and around downtown were analyzed to determine the future action needed to "eliminate existing, and potential new blight."¹⁰⁵ Numerous surveys were undertaken of the areas, focussing on physical conditions of structures and family characteristics. A detailed land utilization and marketability study was also undertaken in conjunction with CRP analysis. The outcome of these studies was the demarkation of renewal areas and classification as first priority

¹⁰⁴. Community Renewal Plan, 1964, p. 59.

¹⁰⁵. Final report - Community Renewal Program, 1964, p. 18.

and second priority areas. Only the first priority area was redeveloped under the South End renewal project.



MAP 7: SOUTH END RENEWAL SITE

The motivating reasons for this project, as in earlier projects, was to "eliminate existing, and potential new blight."¹⁰⁶ The report also stated- "indications are that the area has excellent redevelopment potential, its marketability prospects are among the most

¹⁰⁶. Ibid.

promising in the city."¹⁰⁷ The area, located south of College Street was strategically placed within the central business district, readily accessible from all parts of the city and thus was a highly desirable location.

Funds: It was estimated that the total net cost would be \$17,950,000.¹⁰⁸ The federal funds amounted to \$13,450,000 while the state's share amounted to \$2,050,000. The city's share was estimated at \$2,450,000.

Section 112 of the Housing Act provided that "a community may credit in its renewal bookkeeping, for some expenditures made by universities that are within or next to the urban renewal area". These credits were used here as Wesleyan University undertook some capital expenditures. The ultimate cost to the city was limited to the cost of providing services and streets in the project area.

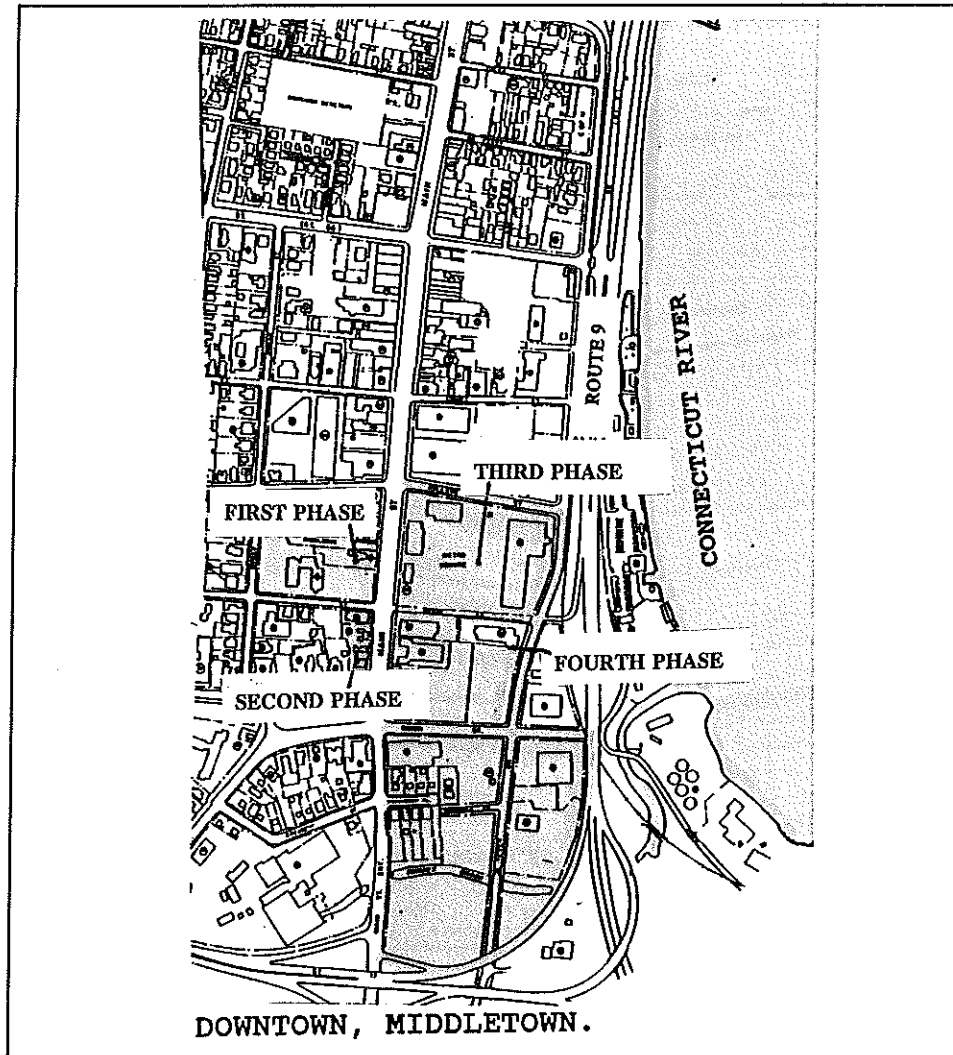
Plans: The redevelopment had proposed a mix of residential, businesses, public, and commercial uses. But as urban renewal got underway more emphasis was placed on commercial buildings. The first project in 1969, entailed clearing land at the northwest corner of Williams and Main Street. This land was cleared for high rise elderly housing and an adjacent park. In the early seventies the west side of Main Street south of Williams street was demolished. The Redevelopment Agency had originally planned to put apartments on the property but instead three historic buildings were relocated to this site from various downtown locations. Houses and businesses along Union Street and the residential neighborhood along Sumner and South Street to the east were razed to accommodate parking lots for Middletown Press, Y M C A and Middlesex Memorial hospital.¹⁰⁹ The last phase was the demolition on east side of Main Street, between College and Williams Street in 1978. These buildings were replaced by Metro Place, a commercial mall (map 8). The last addition was Rivers Edge condominiums in

¹⁰⁷. Report on High Priority Study Area, 1964, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸. Ibid.

¹⁰⁹. Warner A. Elizabeth, 1990, p. 164.

1988, a modern market rate high rise residential tower overlooking the river. Majority of the area is covered by parking lots while the density has been greatly reduced.



MAP 8: PHASES OF SOUTH END RENEWAL

The resulting development reflects the "formula" approach as summarized by a local resident - "In a community the size of Middletown, I believe the basic services of government, the post office, bakery and good stores --all with adequate parking should

be conveniently close to one another in the downtown area. Add apartment housing and there would be a built-in demand for downtown market."¹¹⁰

Existing Conditions: A detailed study of the area was undertaken by the city to analyze the causes and degree of blight. Both physical conditions and residents' perceptions were incorporated in the survey. The report on the "Study of High Priority Areas" indicated that it was an active neighborhood containing many important public, commercial and industrial uses. A total of 228 families and 39 businesses and organizations existed in the area.

The section was occupied by young families, average age of head of household being 40-45 years, and 20%-25% of the families on the east side of Main Street and 30%-35% of west side were home owners. The area had median incomes from \$4,500-\$4,900, while \$2400-\$2900 was required for public housing eligibility. Family ties to the area were strong and on an average 22% of the families had relatives in the neighborhood. The results also indicated that most families were strongly inclined towards staying in the neighborhood.¹¹¹

The site supposedly contained the largest area of concentrated blight in the city. The study indicated that 84% of residential and 57% of commercial areas were deficient. The report stated that some sound structures did exist, but were exceptions in a generally deteriorated neighborhood. The survey results indicated that the majority of the residents were only dissatisfied with physical conditions such as lack of trees, parking, open spaces, noise, dirt etc which could have been easily corrected.

¹¹⁰. Quoted by an official in the Final Report - Community Renewal Program, 1964.

¹¹¹. The average was + 0.8, where +1.0 was the upper limit and -1.0 the lower limit when families wanted to move.

TABLE 8
SOUTH END RENEWAL PROJECT - Condition of Structures.

	Residential	Non-Residential
Total	74	55
Sub-standard	62(84 %)	31(51 %)

Source: Community Renewal Program, City of Middletown.

Relocation: The relocation plan, a prerequisite to urban renewal, was based on the tenure status and family income. Both new and existing units were proposed to relocate the displaced (table 9).

TABLE 9
SOUTH END RENEWAL PROJECT - Relocation of Families.

	Whites	Non-Whites	Total
Home Purchase	23	12	35
Public- Housing Eligible			
Federal Low rent	27	34	61
State Moderate Rental	16	15	31
Total Public Housing	66	61	127
Private Rental Housing	62	23	85
Fed. Aided Elderly Housing	16	0	16

Source: Community Renewal Program, City of Middletown.

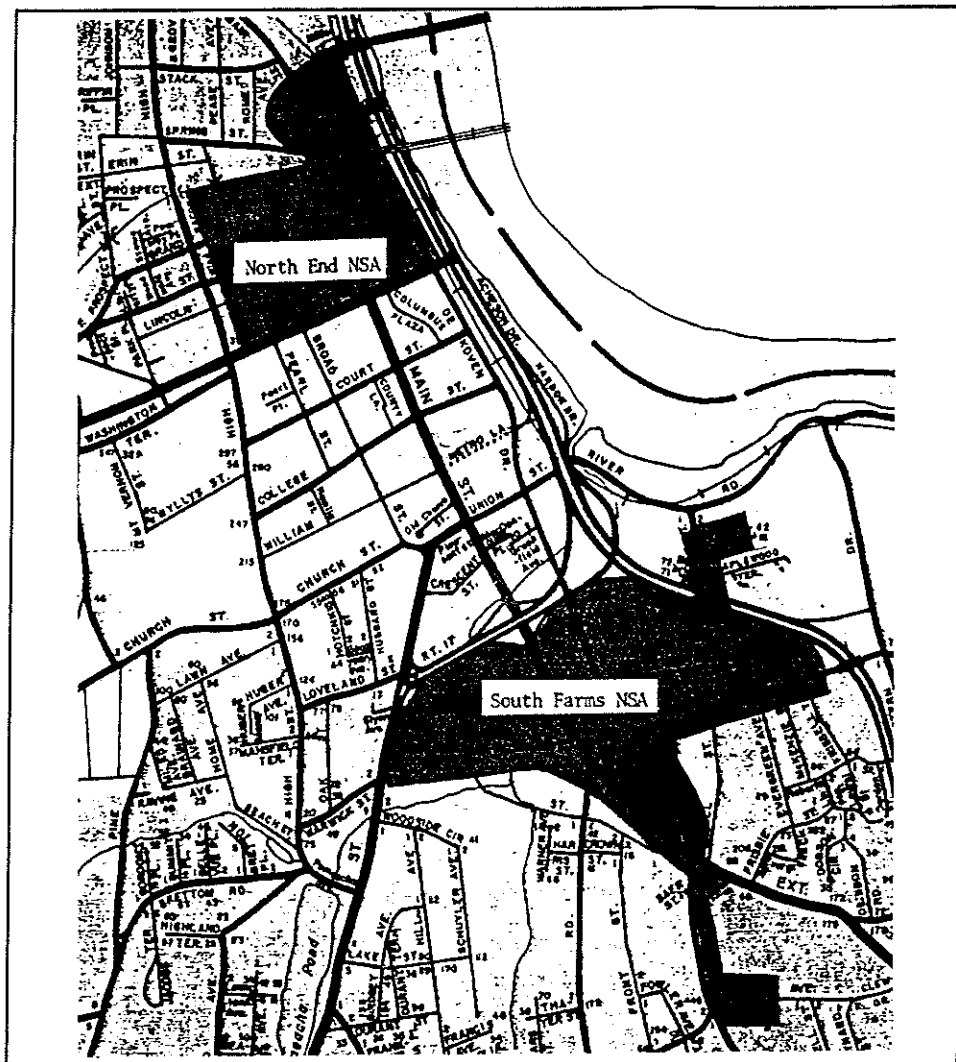
Racial balance in public housing and integration was a concern and efforts were made to disperse the population all over the city. New housing for low-income, elderly and moderate income groups was also proposed. As evident by the survey, some people did have a negative attitude towards public housing. The analysis also indicated that a greater degree of social work among low income families being relocated would be necessary. Plans for relocation of business in or near to the area were also formulated.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANTS

After the termination of the urban renewal program, Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) became the main source of funding. In the earlier years from 1970's to 1980's these were utilized extensively to complete the urban renewal plans. The grant allotted was broken down to 15% for use of public services, 20% for general program administration and 65% for general program improvement. The provision that low and moderate income areas have to be targeted facilitated the use of CDBG for urban renewal. Urban renewal satisfied the public services, physical improvement and low and moderate income requirement of CDBG. The Metro Square project, the last phase of traditional urban renewal was undertaken with CDBG monies.

CDBG greatly aided the later revitalization efforts too. In the early 1970's, the residents began to question the rapid destruction of the community's historic resources by urban renewal. This concern became widespread when the fifth phase of renewal proposed slicing off a huge portion of South Green, Middletown's only remaining historic nineteenth century park and the only open space left in downtown. Active opposition from Middletown Historic Preservation Trust, a non-profit advocacy group, saved the South Green. CDBG and other HUD assisted programs have helped to improve the physical conditions in the downtown by targeting funding to smaller areas, while preserving the historic fabric of the area. Small scale rehabilitation and restoration made possible by CDBG monies are now replacing demolition and destruction in the downtown.

CDBG program has targeted two Neighborhood Strategy Areas delineated to the south and north of downtown's renewal area (map 9). At the time of identification these areas were characterized as most effected by poor physical and social condition. CDBG monies have helped improve the physical conditions in these areas by code enforcement and rehabilitation but when compared to other parts of the city the problems, both social and physical, still persist.



MAP 9: NEIGHBORHOOD STRATEGY AREAS

NORTH END CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT URBAN RENEWAL PLAN

The North End of downtown was one of the areas not redeveloped under urban renewal. Recently the city had formulated some plans for this area which are discussed in this section. Though not federally funded, this review is important to analyze the current ideas and thinking in Middletown regarding revitalization. To date this plan has not been implemented yet.

The North End Central Business District Urban Renewal plan (1991-1992) was the result of a North End Task Force Report in June 1986. The North End Task Force was created by the common council of Middletown to "review the current situation in the North End of Middletown."¹¹²

Reasons: The reason stated for renewal were the "obvious and apparent convergence, in one geographical area of the community, (North End Target Area) of a multitude of serious problems with no adequate municipal preparation to confront them".¹¹³ The report also stated that urban renewal had saved the southern end of the downtown from the blight and neglect that had caused the decay of structures, infrastructure and quality of life, existing in the North End. The city attributed the problems of the North End to four reasons.¹¹⁴ First, the movement of poor residents of earlier renewal areas to North End. The number of apartments that had been eliminated earlier by the Metro-South renewal project were not replaced (in-violation of HUD policies).¹¹⁵ Due to this, many low-income residents from earlier projects relocated to the North End. Second, the influx of black families from south and migration of Hispanics and Puerto Ricans. Third, the de-institutionalized citizens concentrated here due to the location of single room occupancy shelter and soup kitchen. Fourth reason was a complete absence of Federal Housing Programs for the past 12 years. To resolve these problems the city officials felt that there was a need for a long term program of revitalization.

Plans: The plans included code enforcement by land-lords, rehabilitation programs, improvement of pedestrian and vehicular circulation, a new transportation center, a new police station, street-scape improvements, a new city plaza and a pedestrian

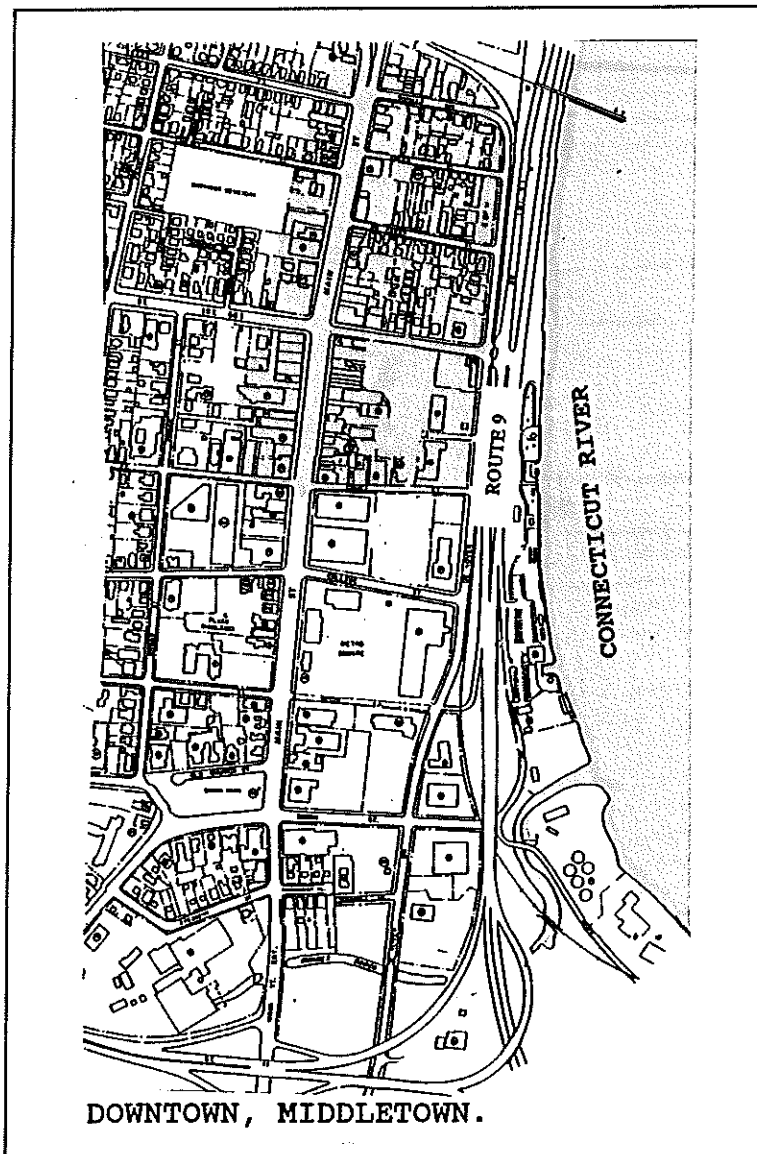
¹¹². North End Task Force Report, June 1988, p. 2.

¹¹³. Ibid, p. 4.

¹¹⁴. The problems were identified by collecting information from city departments, local businesses, social service agencies and citizen surveys.

¹¹⁵. North End Task Force Report, June 1988, p. 5.

bridge across Route 9 to the rivers' edge. Apart from these improvements, plans also included the immediate relocation of the St. Vincent de Paul Place soup kitchen and a single room occupancy shelter at the Arriwani hotel which were perceived to be the main cause of deterioration in the North End.



MAP 10: NORTH END RENEWAL SITE

Funds: The total acquisition cost was estimated to be \$10,204,600. Total residential relocation was anticipated to be \$592,000. The funds were proposed to be assembled from a variety of sources such as Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), public improvement financing using city's general obligation bonds for eligible housing projects, Connecticut Department of Housing's development and rehabilitation projects, Connecticut Department of Economic Development programs and any tax-increment financing as allowed by Connecticut General Statutes.

Existing Conditions: The area at present has mixed uses with a number of residences and small business located not only on Main Street but also along side streets. The survey of existing structural conditions revealed that 34% of residential structures were in good condition, while 37% needed minor repairs, and 2% were found to be unsuitable for any rehabilitation or reconstruction. The following table lists the breakdown of residential structures.

TABLE 10
NORTH END RENEWAL AREA - Existing Building Conditions (Residential).

Building Conditions	No of Buildings	Percent
Sound Condition	35	34%
In need of minor repairs	38	37
In need of significant repairs	19	19
Combinations of major deficiencies	8	8
Major defects not suitable for rehabilitation or renovation	2	2
	102	100

Source: North End Central Business District, Urban Renewal, City of Middletown.

All the structures had water, gas and sewer service. The study on the neighborhood did mention that the area had provided much needed affordable housing and retail areas for the past several years.

Relocation Plan: The project, as proposed would have relocated 22 business and

non-profit agencies and 102 residences. The relocation would have been undertaken by the Middletown Redevelopment Agency and City of Middletown Municipal Development Office. It was proposed that interviews with individual business concerns would be conducted. Based on tenure, space requirements, number of employees, relocation plans, and locational preferences each business would be suitably relocated.

The payments were to be either in the form of reimbursement or fixed payment, the latter not exceeding \$20,000. According to the relocation ordinance a reasonable number of offers would be given and eviction would only take place if the occupant refused to accept any. Apart from a residential needs assessment, social services special needs would also be assessed. The report assured that "comparable replacement" dwellings would be provided. "Comparable replacement" was defined as decent, safe and sanitary, functionally equivalent to displaced dwelling in terms of utility, style of living etc. The comparable replacement would be

- same amount of space as displaced one.
- in an area not subject to unreasonable adverse environmental conditions from either natural or human sources,
- currently available to displaced persons.

For people in government assisted housing, a unit in government owned subsidized housing or section 8 housing was considered a comparable replacement.¹¹⁶

Public Participation: In the early stages of drafting the plan, residents' testimonies at public hearings, interviews with neighborhood residents, city residents, municipal officials, active business and civic leaders were incorporated to formulate goals. The report stated that a community consensus necessary in order to successfully implement the North End plan was achieved."¹¹⁷

Despite this, the first phase of the plan to relocate the St. Vincent de Paul Place

¹¹⁶. North End Central Business District, Urban Renewal Plan, 1990.

¹¹⁷. Ibid, p. 16.

soup kitchen and S.R.O. shelter at the Arriwani Hotel failed to pass a public referendum in June, 1992. The turnout of residents and their feelings, as evident by testimonies, reflected their fear and suspicion regarding the plans, fear of being dislocated to an unfamiliar area and suspicion regarding city's effort to relocate them. Most of them were ignorant of the relocation plans and those who were aware of the plan did not know the details and were uncertain as to how it would affect them. Several residents expressed their desires to remain in the neighborhood where they felt they belonged. Despite a general consensus that physical and social conditions were not ideal, very few wanted to leave.

The review of the North End plan is extremely important as it mirrors the same issues that Court Place area, Center Street area and Metro South Area were characterized before revitalization efforts were undertaken there. Citizens' response to plans indicate that concerns over redevelopment remain the same as they were 39 years ago and the implementation strategy has not changed drastically. At this point, it is uncertain as to how the city will proceed, but a need for a different approach is evident today.

CONCLUSIONS.

Though Middletown has had its share of revitalization projects, due to its population, it has not qualified for other efforts as the Model Cities program or the Enterprise zones. Planning for War on Poverty did begin but the program was disbanded before any schemes could be implemented.¹¹⁸ As in the case of other mid-sized cities, urban renewal has been the main intervention which has had profound effects on downtown. As evident from the review urban renewal has had two major effects. It changed the character of downtown drastically and dislocated residents and neighborhoods from downtowns. It is apparent by looking at the recent North End renewal plans in

¹¹⁸. Details regarding the planning efforts for War on Poverty program are included in appendix III.

Middletown and those of other mid-sized cities¹¹⁹ in Connecticut that approach to revitalization and relocation has not altered much as compared to the earlier renewal plans, even though negative effects of such plans have been widely acknowledged. Thus, it is important to systematically evaluate the outcomes of the earlier renewal plans and their effect on downtown and people in an effort to mitigate any potential negative impacts of any redevelopment strategy in the future.

¹¹⁹. An evaluation of other mid-sized cities (population between 35,000 - 75,000) in Connecticut as Norwalk, New Britain, Groton, Manchester and Springfield, Massachusetts revealed the fact that revitalization strategies in these cities have not changed much from earlier renewal plans.

CHAPTER 4:

EVALUATION OF REVITALIZATION PROGRAMS IN MIDDLETOWN.

This chapter evaluates the outcomes of revitalization programs in terms of their objectives and effects. The evaluation is based on figures from census reports, governmental reports, on-site observations, conversations with the people who were involved in administering the programs and persons whose families were affected by the programs. Because no comprehensive records were maintained it has been difficult to get the actual figures. Also acknowledging the fact that figures do not always represent people's experiences, personal interviews and observations have been important in this evaluation.

The chapter begins with a recapitulation of the forces behind the renewal projects. The evaluation itself deals with the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of the outcomes of revitalization strategy in Middletown. While the qualitative analysis relies on observations, interviews and reports, an effort has been made to support the findings by quantitative measures. The last part of the chapter highlights the issues which emerge from the evaluation.

The evaluation consists of two parts. The first part of the evaluation examines three presumed outcomes of the revitalization programs. These are "elimination of blighted conditions, improvement of quality of life of residents" and "progress of people." The second part of this chapter focuses on relocation plans and public participation.

The choice of these outcomes for evaluation is based on the proposed objectives of urban renewal, literature review that focussed on recent writings on neighborhood decline, and from my personal experiences and observations.

For evaluating the objective of "elimination of blight" which was the primary justification for the urban renewal projects, indicators adopted by the renewal reports have been used. Indicators used for the evaluating "improvement in quality of life" and "progress of people" are a resultant of the recent literature on neighborhood decline and

facilities and satisfy code standards. The congestion has been reduced and the densities are low, with greater areas landscaped or set aside for parking. Considering all the indicators for physical condition of buildings and environmental adequacy there has definitely been an improvement in all renewal sites. This is reinforced by comparing the conditions of structures before renewal to the conditions that exist now. Comparison of table 11 and table 12 indicate that physical conditions have improved tremendously on site.

**TABLE 11
EXISTING CONDITIONS ON ALL THREE SITES BEFORE URBAN RENEWAL.**

	Court Place Project Area	Center Place Project Area	South End Renewal Project
Residential Substandard	7	60	62
Non-Residential Substandard	0	7	31
Total Substandard	7	67	93
Total Structures	9	74	129

**TABLE 12
CONDITIONS ON ALL THREE SITES AFTER URBAN RENEWAL.¹²¹**

	Total housing units	Lacking complete plumbing	Lacking complete kitchen facilities	Public system or private company facilities	Public sewer
Middletown	18,102	30	110	16,541	16,458
Tract 5416 Downtown	1323	8	8	All	All

Source: 1990 Census, Complete Count and Sample Data, Middletown, CT by Census Tract.

¹²¹. These figures are based on census reports for tract 5416.

Since the renewal plans did achieve their objective of improving blight on the "site", renewal has been successful in this respect.

IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE RESIDENTS:

This was the second objective of renewal. To evaluate whether this was achieved, two factors need to be considered.

- Did the displaced move to better housing?
- Was there an improvement in social conditions and neighborhood character?

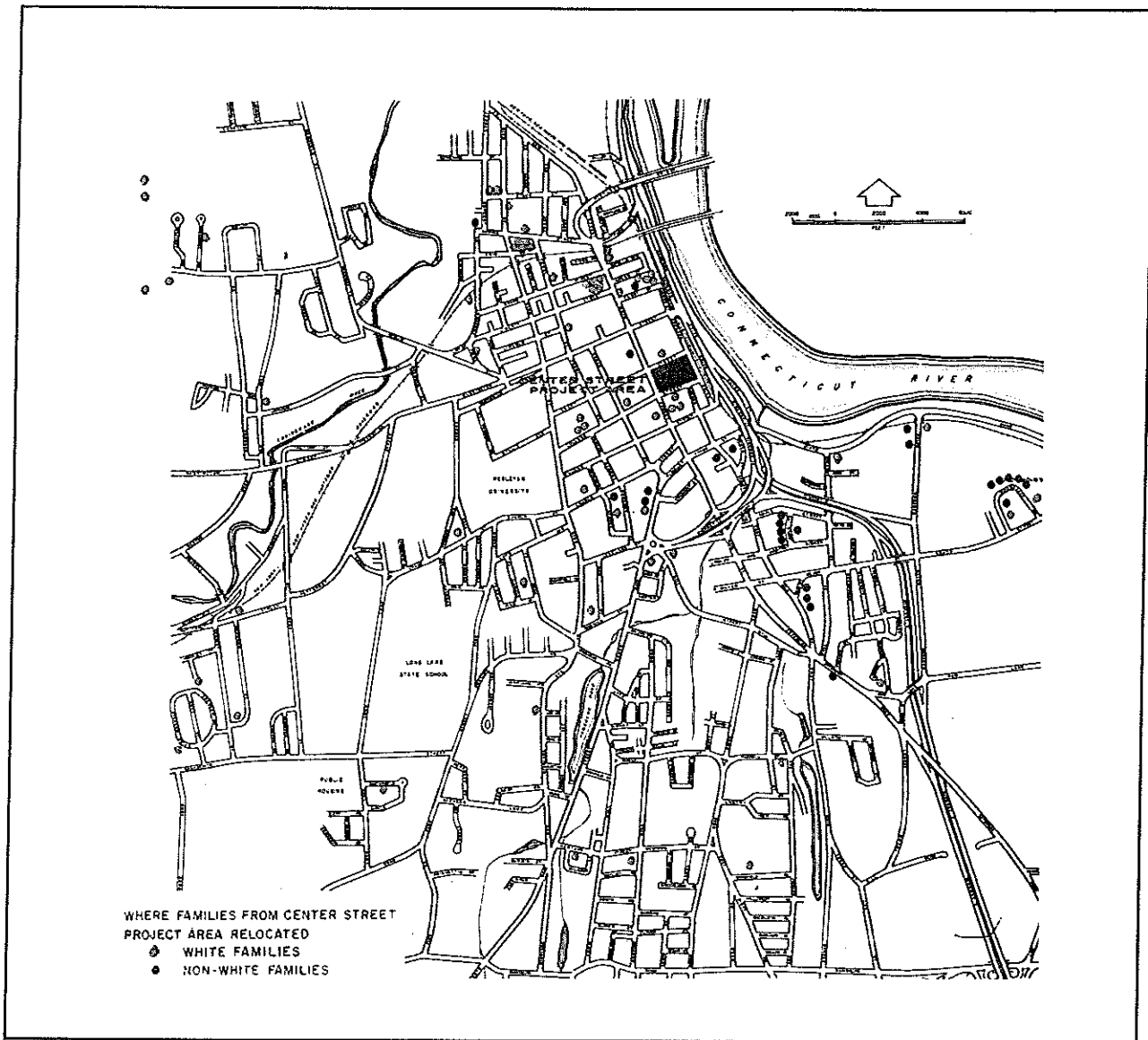
DID THE DISPLACED MOVE TO BETTER HOUSING?

To ensure that all the residents moved to better housing elaborate and detailed relocation plans were formulated by the officials (refer to chapter 3 for details). These plans assured that adequate new housing built would be better in all respects to existing housing in all the urban renewal sites. Later reports stated that people moved to "better" housing in terms of physical conditions. To evaluate whether this happened, it is important to dwell on the conditions of housing before and after renewal.

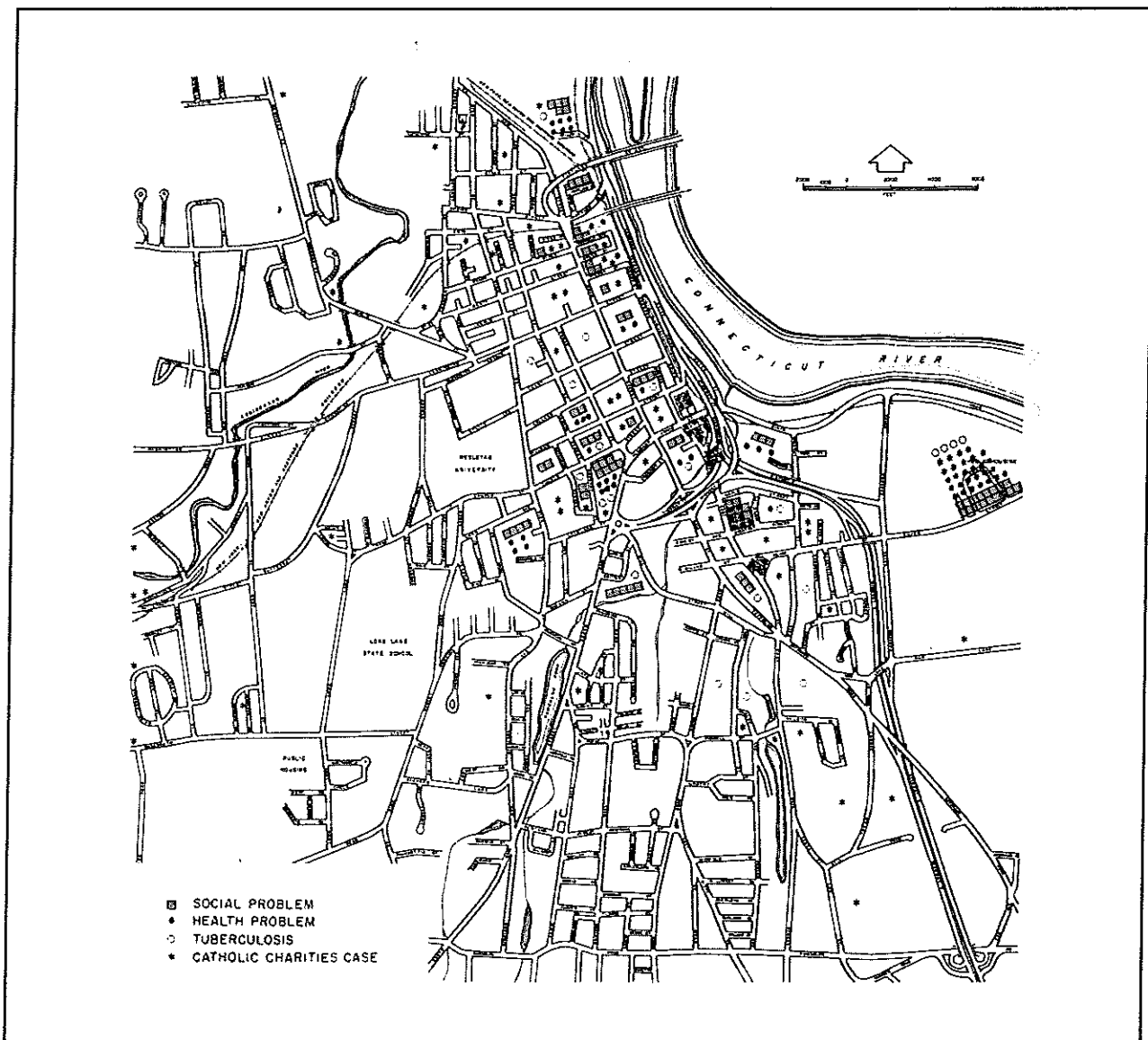
For ease in evaluation of condition of housing that the displaced moved to, the residential population of the renewal sites have been categorized into three groups, the low-income residents who were eligible for public housing, working class residents not eligible for public housing, and the upper income group.

Regarding the first group, that is those eligible for public and assisted housing figures indicate that only 31% of proposed low and moderate income housing was ever built.¹²² As minimum building standards in these structures were mandated by the Housing Authority, it can be assumed that of all low-income residents of renewal site, 31% were provided housing in better physical condition than that existing in the renewal site. The new houses did not have leaky roofs, bad plumbing, dark alleyways and so on, but for some who were located in existing public housing the area was already beset by social, health and welfare problems as indicated by the maps 11 and 12.

¹²². North End Central Business District - Urban Renewal Plan, 1990.



MAP 11: RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION AREAS.



MAP 12: SOCIAL, HEALTH AND WELFARE PROBLEMS IN RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION AREAS.

The remaining 69% had to find their own housing and usually found the same, if not worse quality of housing in the areas around the renewal sites. Records indicate that many of these families moved to the North End neighborhood, which now "is the most

dilapidated and deteriorated area in the city."¹²³ A survey of structural conditions (refer table 13) in North End depicts that only 34% are in sound condition and 66% have same defects or other. Thus, very few low income families did experience improvement in physical conditions of residences.

TABLE 13
STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS OF EXISTING BUILDINGS IN THE NORTH END AREA.

	All Buildings		Residential Buildings	
	No. of Buildings	Percent	No. of Buildings	Percent
Sound Condition	115	52%	34	34%
In need of minor repairs	65	30%	32	32%
In need of Significant repairs	22	10%	18	18%
Combination of major deficiencies	15	7%	14	14%
Major defects not suitable for rehabilitation or reconstruction	3	1%	2	2%
Total	220	100%	100	100%

Source: North End Central Business District Urban Renewal Plan, City of Middletown, p. 30, 32.

The second group, (working class) not eligible for public assistance housing, were the majority in the area as indicated by median income of \$4,500 - \$4,900 as compared to \$2,400 - \$2,900 required for public housing eligibility in the first two projects (table 14).

¹²³. Ibid.

TABLE 14**ESTIMATES OF FAMILY INCOME, CENTER STREET - COURT PLACE REDEVELOPMENT AREA.**

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME	Center Street Buildings	Court Place Project	Total Project
Less than \$1,000	1	1	2
\$1,000 to \$2,999	20	6	26
\$3,000 to \$3,999	32	9	41
\$4,000 to \$4,999	40	13	53
\$5,000 or more	46	15	61

Source: Center Street- Court Place Redevelopment Plan.

The survey classified their dwellings as substandard based on external maintenance, lack of central heating, and lack of modern plumbing facilities. The interviews reveal that the houses were in sound structural conditions, though they did lack a fresh coat of paint or were in need of new siding. They did lack central heating and used gas stoves, but former residents who were interviewed emphasized that at that time most of the other residences in the city had gas stoves too. A few residents were in the process of changing to central heating. The same applies to plumbing conditions. A former resident quoted - "sure, we did not have showers, but we would have installed it eventually."¹²⁴ Most of the former residents become indignant when their old dwellings are described as "substandard." Despite a lack of these facilities, interviews reveal that the residents maintained their houses with pride. Lack of a shower, or central heating was not their priority at that time. As to whether, relocation improved their physical condition of dwellings, it did. The displaced moved into housing with modern facilities. But as evident from interviews, improvements of physical conditions and modernization was not their concern at that time. Further the residents did have plans to replace some fixture and facilities over a period of time.

¹²⁴. Interviews with former residents was a source of these anecdotal information.

Regarding the third group, people who were already in "good" houses in the renewal area relocated to similar or better houses, usually single family dwellings in outer rings of downtown. For these groups, there was an improvement.

As far as renters are concerned interviews and figures on median rents reveal that most of them ended up paying higher rents, irrespective of the physical condition of structures they moved to.

Thus it can be concluded that while upper income families improved the physical conditions of their dwellings to a certain extent, middle income families did not benefit much as some did not consider physical condition a priority while others were already in the process of upgrading their houses, though in increments. Low income families, not located in public housing did not experience improvement in physical conditions, while those relocated in public housing did initially but, as apparent in the following pages, faced other problems.

WAS THERE AN IMPROVEMENT IN NEIGHBORHOODS?

This second aspect examined to evaluate improvement in living condition of the people emerged from the literature review. Recent writings on evaluation of neighborhoods stress that apart from physical conditions of housing itself, conditions in the neighborhood, both social and physical influence the lives of residents. Before embarking on this evaluation it is important to enumerate the factors which collectively would form a neighborhood.

As a result of the literature review, surveys and interviews with former residents the factors include not just physical aspects as adequacy of city services, street lighting, conditions of streets, dirt, open spaces etc., but also other non-physical aspects as safety, relatives in the area, supportive social and cultural organizations, neighborhood stores and other features which enhance the feeling of "neighborliness." Thus both physical and non-physical aspects were used as indicators.

Regarding the quality of physical features, the following table evaluates the

physical aspects affecting the neighborhoods that the residents moved to. This evaluation is based on site observations and people's perceptions.

TABLE 15

EVALUATION OF QUALITY OF LIFE- Physical features in neighborhoods where people relocated after urban renewal.

Indicators	Suburban Housing (high and medium income)	Free Market Rental (Medium income)	Public Housing (low Income)	North End (low income)
City services	good	good	fair	bad
Street lighting	good	good	fair	fair
Conditions of streets	good	good	fair	bad
Dirt, Garbage collection	good	good	fair	bad
Open Spaces	good	good	fair	bad

Though most of the neighborhoods that the residents moved to were qualitatively better, in a few instances the improvement was very minimal or nil. The public housing that most of the low-income people were relocated to and the North End which received displaced persons from the area still have deficiencies which were supposed to have been eliminated by urban renewal. The sidewalks are not maintained well, garbage pick-up is not efficient, street lighting is inadequate and so on.

But the blight that was removed from the site, did not disappear but moved to other areas that the residents moved to. This is evident by observing the physical conditions of neighborhoods (generally occupied by minorities) around the renewal area as South End and North End.¹²⁵ Acknowledging the fact that these areas are characterized by unhealthy conditions Redevelopment Agency delineated them as Neighborhood Strategy Areas (map 9). The North End task force report reinforces this

¹²⁵. Site observations confirm this.

finding by stating that the North End is one of the "most deteriorated areas in the city."

To evaluate other "neighborhood" features each aspect is dealt with individually, while the table summaries the findings.

TABLE 16

EVALUATION OF QUALITY OF LIFE - Neighborhood features in neighborhoods where people relocated after urban renewal.

Indicators	Suburban Housing (high and medium income)	Free Market Rental (Medium income)	Public Housing (low Income)	North End (low income)
Safety	good	good	fair	bad
Relatives living in the area	nil	nil	nil	fair
Supporting social and cultural organizations.	nil	nil	nil	good
Neighborhood stores owned by residents of neighborhoods	nil	nil	nil	fair

Regarding safety, though the Court Place, Center Street and South End neighborhoods in downtown were inhabited by different groups, they co-existed in harmony. While the ethnic groups concentrated in sub-areas within the neighborhoods the residents did not hesitate to walk into other sub-areas occupied by low-income groups. Within the ethnic groups, families of varied incomes lived together. There was no stigma attached to any part of the neighborhood and none was perceived to be unsafe. As one interviewee said, people did not have problems walking around in the areas alone at night. The neighbors looked after each other. After relocation, while some of the areas that residents moved to are considered safe, others as the North End and public housing areas, where low-income families moved to, are still considered to be unsafe especially at nights.

The neighborhoods that existed in downtown were close knit. A survey undertaken prior to renewal plans indicated that at least 25% of residents in Court Place and Center Street areas had relatives in the same neighborhood. The neighborhood had social organizations as club houses, churches etc., which brought people together. Neighborhood stores, operated by local residents increased familiarity and encouraged personal relationships between the shopkeepers and clients. A reciprocatory owner-renter relationship enhanced the feeling of comradeship within the residents. The renewal plan did initially indicate that efforts would be made to preserve the neighborhood character for which a number of survey were undertaken. But the outcomes do not indicate that any plans were actually formulated in this regard. The renewal plans did not have any provision for relocating groups of families or relatives together. The older residents and working class families suffered the most from dislocations. They not only had to leave houses where they had lived for years, but were separated from families, and friends on whom they had on in times of need. This is indicated by a former resident's response "we did not care about relocation money at all, we just cared more about friends and family around." Due to relocation these families were scattered all around the city. It is difficult to quantify the psychological effects of such disruption of social networks but former residents still get emotional when they look at the old pictures and often point out houses of relatives and friends after pointing their own houses.

Local organizations, churches, community facilities, neighborhood stores were an integral part of the existing neighborhood. Close proximity to residences and their frequent usage made them an integral part of residents life and bound the community together. Due to relocation of these facilities at scattered sites, the social and cultural links within the community were disrupted. In instances where the facilities remained on site, as in the case of a church in South End, their importance as focal points of community is greatly diminished as the community which they served no longer exists.

Now, the neighborhoods where low-income people relocated to as public housing

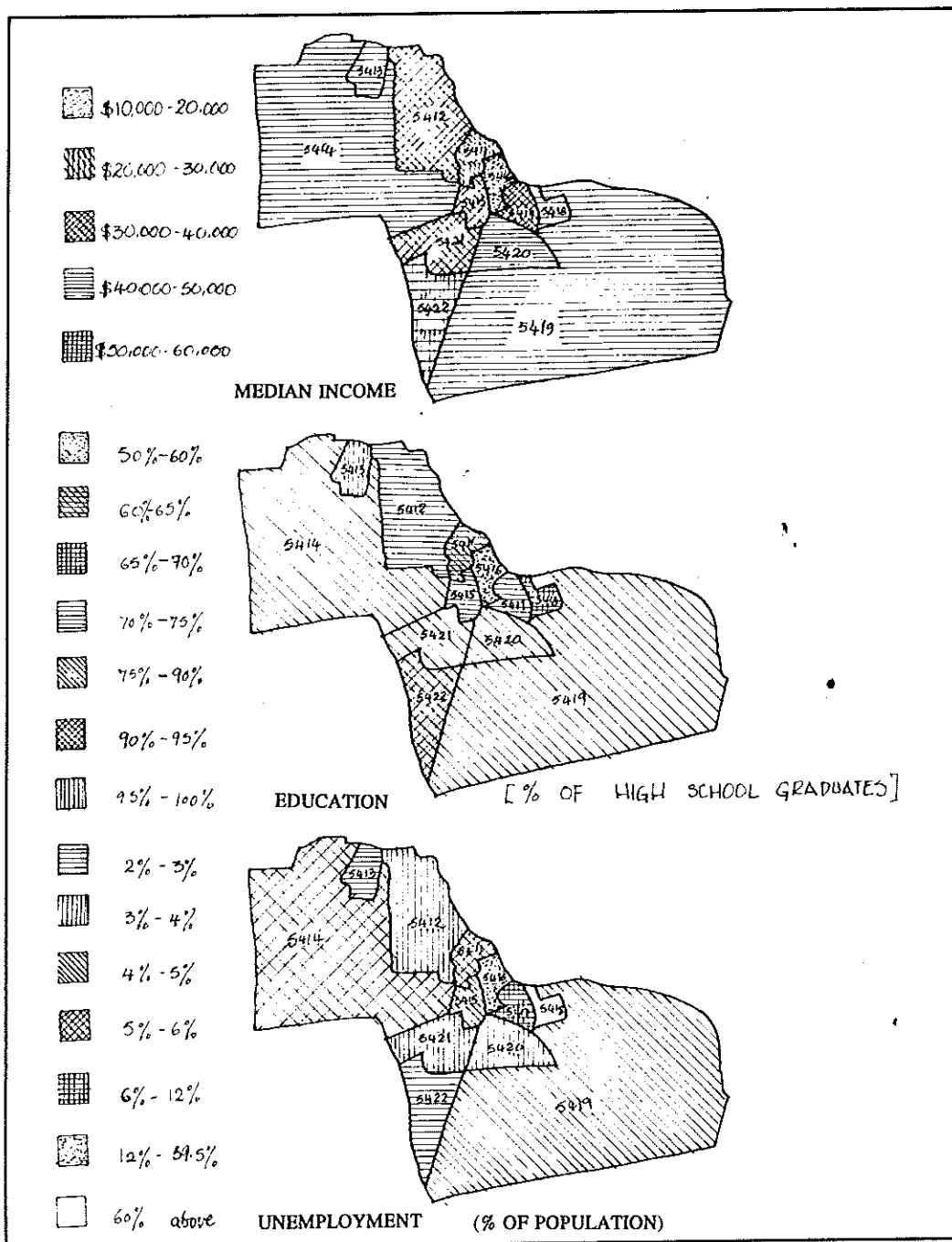
and North End also exhibit other social problems as drug abuse, homelessness and so on too (refer map 13). However it would be incorrect to blame Urban Renewal or the planners and officials for all these maladies. In recent years other factors as de-institutionalization, rising unemployment due to a restructuring of jobs, increasing crime have also contributed their share. But the question whether a more sensitive relocation plan aimed at preserving the social links in neighborhoods would have slowed the deterioration of certain neighborhoods, despite the newer problems brought in by restructuring, remains unanswered.

DID PEOPLE ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN LIFE?

Though the renewal plans never actually stated that they would lead to progress in the lives of residents, interviews with former residents reveal that "progress" was implicit in the whole process of redevelopment. Probably because development itself is synonymous to progress. Further, it was a general feeling among the officials who were involved in the plans that "all of the residents did better than before and profited from renewal, including low-income groups, as they were given 5,000 dollars each, with better housing in new projects."¹²⁶ Implicit in this statement is the perception that "better housing and money" is synonymous to progress.

To evaluate if people achieved progress, indicators of income, employment and education were used to measure the status of relocated people, especially low-income ones by comparing the census figures for tracts 5416, 5417, 5418 which include public housing and private housing to which people relocated after renewal.

¹²⁶. This is a quote from one of the interviews.



MAP 13: INCOME, EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN MIDDLETOWN - CENSUS TRACTS

Comparison of census figures, indicate that the tract 5416 (downtown) still has the lowest median income while tract 5418 with public housing has the maximum percentage of people below property (51.9%) Downtown tract 5416 has lowest percentage of high school graduate (56.8%). In summation, the downtown tract and tracts that low income people relocated to demonstrate lowest levels of income, education and employment.

Further, interviews with the displaced people revealed a deep bitterness amongst low-income people as they felt that the whole process had not changed their lives in any way. Though the physical conditions of residents improved, the neighborhood conditions did not. There was absolutely no improvement in terms of income, jobs, satisfaction etc. In fact while the low-income residents were within the downtown, they felt they played a role in the city. They had access to central business district and the few jobs that it offered. Relocation alienated them from the city, from the downtown, and from the "progress" that was achieved.

RELOCATION AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION:

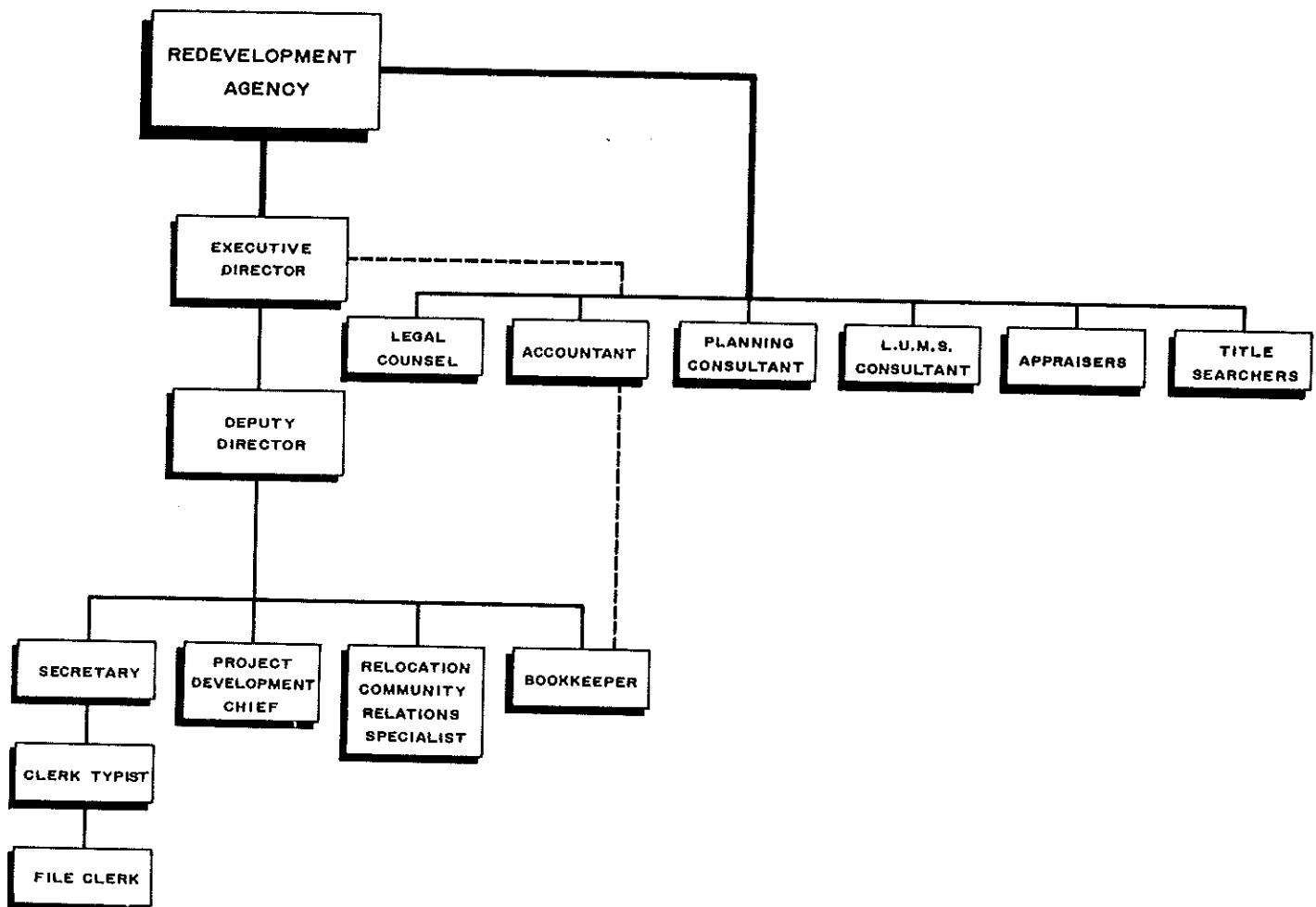
Much of the dissatisfaction among residents relates to the relocation plans. The city did detail out an elaborate relocation plan and formed a relocation committee to assist in relocation. But interviews with the former residents reveal three aspects which were the bane of dissatisfaction.

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RESIDENTS AND CITY OFFICIALS:

Apparently there seems to have been a lack of communication between the officials and the residents. Some of the residents who had enough resources moved out as soon as planning for renewal began, even before relocation plans were put in place. Of those who remained not all knew about these plans and about city's effort to help them relocate. So they tried to find alternative accommodation themselves. In the earlier Court Place and Center Street projects, the majority of low-income families were ignorant of plan, though they had heard some rumors, which they did not pay heed to. So they never approached the relocation officer for help and the officers did not go out of their way to

reach these families either once the relocation expenses were paid. The administrative structure in the planning stage did not allow for any public participation too, as evident by the following figure.

Redevelopment Agency Staff and Administrative Structure
Planning Stage



MODE OF RELOCATION PAYMENT:

As explained by a former resident of South End neighborhood low-income families relocated in government assisted housing were paid relocation costs amounting to \$5,000 as a lump sum. The officials assumed that the families would logically spend it on housing needs and relocation. They did not realize that these low income families were more "present-oriented" and spent the money to satisfy their more pressing "basic needs". Thus the relocation grant did not achieve its purpose as these families were back to where they started.

Regarding relocation of existing businesses, officials granted \$25,000 for each business to cover relocation charges under the assumption that this amount was sufficient for businesses to relocate to new places and thrive as they did in earlier neighborhoods. Many of the businesses were relocated in the downtown and some of them did well too.

But, interviews indicate that there were certain small businesses - as the man who used to make hamburgers in his back yard, or the person who had a small grocery store within his house - which relied more on the location and on the community around. These had to close down once they were moved because the nature of business prevented them from functioning elsewhere. So also was the case with businesses owned by elderly people who were physically not able to re-establish their businesses in a new place.

RELOCATION CHOICES OFFERED:

The third drawback of relocation deals with property assessment of existing residential and commercial structures and choices offered to residents. Government reports indicate that a lot of care was given to assessment of property values and that three choices, as required by the relocation statutes, were offered. Real Estate assessors were asked to evaluate the values of the property and three estimates were asked for. The home-owners were offered the highest of the three estimates. The relocation officers were satisfied as 80% of the owners accepted city's offer and only 20% actually went to

court.¹²⁷ Contrarily, the residents response indicated that while they felt that property assessment was much lower than actual values most of the home-owners (mostly Italians and Blacks) accepted the offer as "going to the Court was perceived to be disreputable."¹²⁸ Regarding the choices offered, the residents, owners, tenants and those eligible for public housing were obligated to accept one of the three choices. The relocation clause stated that "if the residents did not agree to any one of a reasonable number of choices offered, (three in this case) they would be evicted by force."¹²⁹ As one former resident revealed, they were threatened by eminent domain acquisition if the residents did not agree to any of the choices.

The officials who were in charge of the relocation feel that since Middletown was closely knit and the population was limited, the relocation staff knew the residents on a personal level and the relocation staff made sure that the compensation was as fair as possible. This is probably true with respect to certain groups and probably did reduce the ill-effects of relocation as compared to situations in other larger cities. But, one can not help wondering if a more sensitive relocation plan, with better outreach efforts by officials would have helped to distribute the benefits in a more equitable manner.

EFFECTS OF RENEWAL ON PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND LAND USES IN DOWNTOWN.

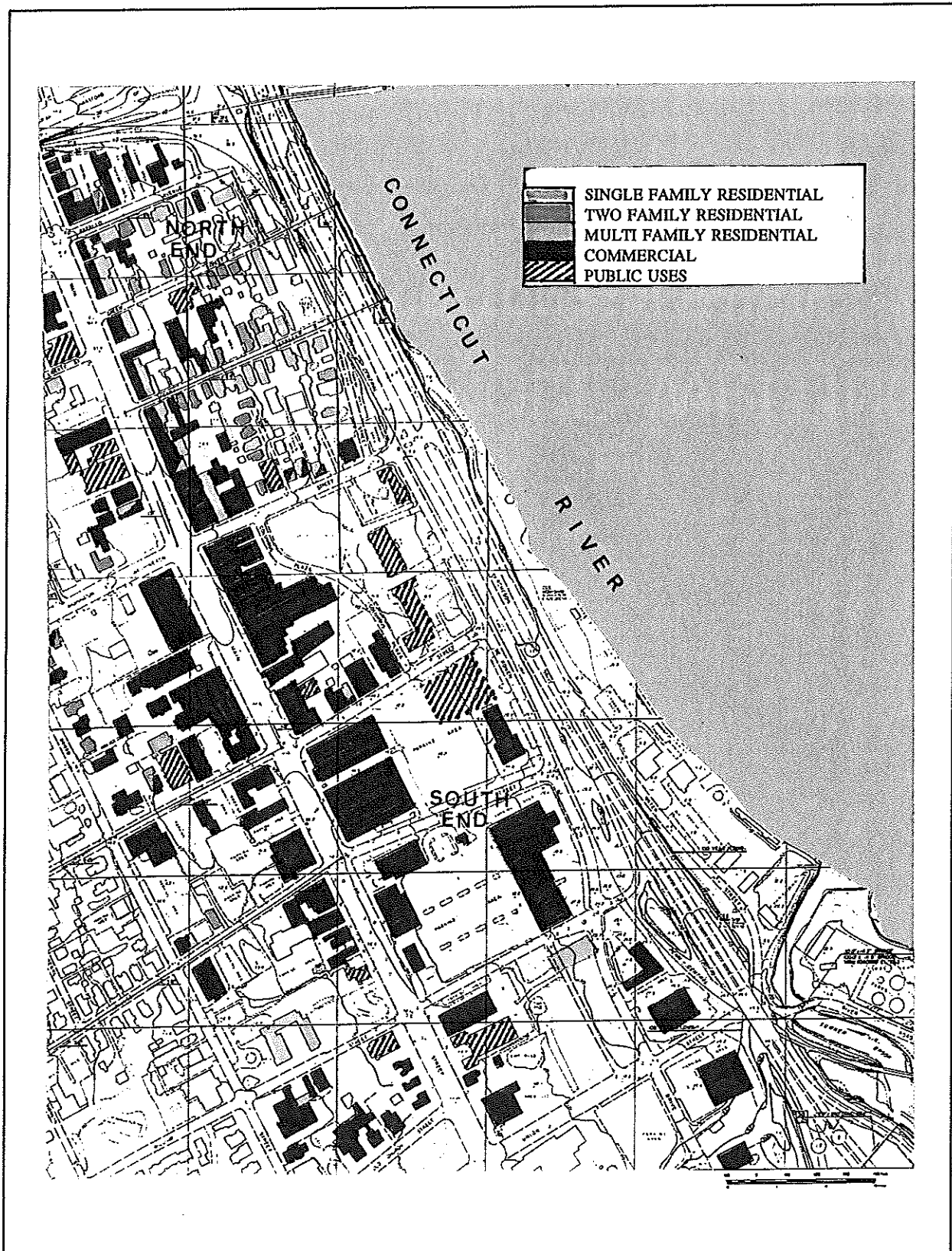
Urban renewal had profound impact on physical structure of neighborhoods. This is evidenced by comparing the areas in downtown which underwent renewal to the existing North End neighborhood in downtown which was untouched by renewal efforts. As the map indicates, the present North End has a mix of uses, with public and commercial uses interspersed between residential uses. The character of built form, with small independent structures and multiple uses within the structures, contributes to the

¹²⁷. Interviews with the relocation officer are the source for this information.

¹²⁸. As indicated by the interviews.

¹²⁹. Final Report - Community Renewal Program, 1964.

vitality of the streets and a feeling of neighborhood. This is in contrast to the areas in the southern part of downtown that underwent renewal, where large, monolithic structures replaced the existing neighborhoods.



MAP 14: LAND USES IN DOWNTOWN

Further examination of residential units existing in both the areas suggests that the type and variety of residences has affected the character of the areas too. The North End contains 6 single family houses, 62 dwellings in two family units, and 252 dwellings in multi-family units. Majority of multi-family dwelling are in four to six family units. In contrast, of the 231 residences in the South End renewal areas, 1 is a single family house, 2 are two family house, 103 units are housed in a high rise condominium complex and 126 are elderly housing units contained in another high rise building. A mix of residential types are well integrated into the fabric and have added vitality to the North End. In the South End residential units, being located in high rise towers are totally isolated from downtown and fail to contribute to the activities on the street or in the downtown.

Restricting uses in the renewal areas to predominantly commercial ones has affected the economic viability of the southern part of downtown too. This is evident by comparing the vacancy rates in the renewal areas to that in North End. While 12.3% of total ground floor retail area within South End renewal areas is vacant, only 2.6% of total floor area within North End is vacant. This indicates that businesses in North End, which are small, family owned businesses are doing better than those in the renewal areas, probably because many of these serve the needs of the residents living in the area.

In the years after renewal, it has been difficult to evaluate the effect of CDBG program on low-income neighborhoods. In the downtown residential areas of North End, these grants have concentrated on rehabilitation of existing residential houses and commercial store fronts. The officials state that since the owners who are recipients of these grants are not allowed to raise the rents, the stock of low-income residences had not decreased. Some residents in North End claim that same communities within the North end are favored over others but as comprehensive reports do not exist it has been difficult to verify this claim. But observations and census figures do reinforce the fact that CDBG has not resulted in any improvements in lives of people nor has it addressed other social

issues. Instead, its focus continues to be physical improvements and administrative expenditure, as indicated by the projects undertaken under CDBG program from 1986 to 1992 (appendix VI).¹³⁰

CONCLUSION

It seems that while urban renewal was successful in improving the physical conditions on-site it did not achieve much in terms of improving the life of residents, especially low-income ones. It did improve the physical condition of housing to a degree, but moved other problems from one area to another. In fact, in Middletown it fostered the segregation of poor Blacks by concentrating them in to public housing. Other minorities, as Italians and Poles, eligible for public housing refused to be relocated in public housing projects because of the stigma attached, and found their own. Blacks had no choice as affordable housing elsewhere was not available to them and all public housing was concentrated in those projects. Low-income families relocated to projects and public housing already beset with social problems which had no supporting facilities as in older neighborhoods.

Further, in the relocation process, owners who were among the higher income groups fared comparatively better than renters and those eligible for public housing. Some owners, especially the elderly and those with extended families did suffer psychologically due to displacement from their neighborhoods and relocation away from their relatives and friends. Generally, renters ended up paying greater rents in new locations.

Renewal projects caused drastic transformations in built form and character of downtown which have neither encouraged a neighborhood feeling nor have contributed greatly to the economic prosperity of downtown.

The findings of the evaluation are summarized as follows.

1. Though the revitalization plans were successful in removing blight and

¹³⁰. Department of Community Development, City of Middletown.

physical deterioration on the renewal site in all the three projects, Court Place, Center Street and South End renewal area, the blight and deterioration just moved with the low-income people to other areas in and around downtown and subsequently caused deterioration of those neighborhoods. The root causes of the problem of blight and deterioration, which are social and economic conditions of the residents were not addressed at all.

2. The low income residents who were not relocated to public housing due to a shortage of such housing did not experience noticeable improvement in the physical conditions of housing or of their neighborhoods. The areas which they were relocated to are beset by greater social problems as compared to the Court Place, Center Street and South End neighborhoods which existed before renewal.

3. For a majority of other residents physical condition of housing was not a priority. They had a sense of belonging to the neighborhoods. The renewal plans disrupted social networks and community links which existed in the Court Place, Center Street and South End neighborhoods.

4. The low-income residents who were displaced from the renewal areas did not experience any significant progress in terms of jobs, income or education. The renewal plans did not benefit the low-income residents in this regard.

5. The evaluation of relocation plans highlight four draw backs.

- Lack of communication between the officials who were administering the plans and the affected residents, as evident by the ignorance of residents regarding the plans and relocation assistance.
- Ineffectiveness of mode of payment of relocation costs, in a lump-sum, in helping people find better housing or cover actual relocation costs.
- Lack of sensitivity among relocation officials in acknowledging existing social networks and community links within the neighborhoods and psychological costs involved in relocation.

- Lack of any scope of dialogue between the officials and the residents while fixing the property values in the relocation process and discard of residents preferences.

6. The evaluation indicates that North End of downtown, which was spared from renewal has retained its character as well as prosperity when compared to the renewal areas in downtown. It seems apparent that the existence of residential uses with other public uses, and their integration within the fabric of North End has contributed to the relative prosperity of North end.

The evaluation has tremendous implications for future projects. Especially, at the present time when Middletown is in the process of "renewing" the North End Central Business District Area. The next chapter dwells on the dominant issues which emerge from the evaluation and its implications for urban planners.

CHAPTER 5:

IMPLICATION FOR PLANNERS.

This chapter enumerates the dominant issues which emerge out of the evaluation. These issues are still relevant as planners' approach to problems facing urban areas or the planning process has not changed significantly over the last several years, as indicated by the North End urban renewal plan in Middletown. The significance of these issues is enhanced in the light of problems facing the present cities due to recent processes of restructuring.

The first issue relates to the identification of physical conditions of blight and deterioration as an indicator of neighborhood well-being. Within this there are two sub-issues. First the criteria of classification which demarcates an area as deteriorated or sub-standard. The present criteria is based on physical conditions existing in an area and completely ignores a range of social issues such as social networks, a sense of belonging, psychological ties to the area, which contribute more to the well being of a neighborhood rather than just physical conditions. Planners have to acknowledge that proximity of family and ethnic group and the availability of local institutions catering to their needs are valued by residents more highly than the status image of neighborhood.¹³¹

Second sub-issue is the implication that improvement in physical conditions automatically leads to improvement in the lives of the residents. This implication ignores a number of other social and economic factors which actually contribute to decline, as evident from recent writings on neighborhood decline. The planners and policy makers have failed to realize that physical conditions are a consequence and not primary causes of other problems. Progress cannot be defined just in terms of physical upgradation. Improvements in employment status, educational achievements and income levels are better indicators of progress. The inequalities and resulting pathologies among the population must therefore be eliminated before the attractive, efficient, and slumless city

¹³¹. Gans, *People, Policies and Plans*, 1991, p. 198.

for which physical planners have been striving is to be realized.¹³² This is specially relevant in the present day as minority populations within the cities are increasingly becoming unqualified for the kinds of jobs that the restructured economy has created.

The second issue relates to the approach that planners and policy makers adopt while trying to solve the problems that people face. It is beyond dispute that their intentions are good but rarely do they make a concerted effort to understand the nature of the problems or the needs and aspirations of the people they plan for. They approach problems with a pre-conceived set of notions. Under representation of minorities in city councils and planning agencies aids this disregard and insensitivity to the needs of these groups. Thus the plans formulated are not *user-oriented*¹³³, or attentive to the goals, preferences, culture and values of the people for and with whom they are making plans or policies.

The third issue arises from the second and relates to people's participation in the planning process. The present structure has no scope for involving people while the plans are being formulated except for public hearings before implementation where the citizens get a chance to review and protest. But often the citizens who need to protest most are not consulted until it is too late. As Herbert Gans puts it, "needless to say, there is more to planning than pleasing users, and sometimes planning is good precisely because the citizenry is unhappy with it." But that does not justify planning that seeks to improve people's lives without evidence that they need improving, or to demand improvements that they cannot afford. In the present planning process in Middletown, there is no mechanism to involve people from the inception of planning or to know their desires except for citizen surveys which are limited in their ability to gauge people's needs.

Better public participation would also resolve the issue of poor communication on the part of redevelopment officials and the negative interpretation of any proposal by the

¹³². Ibid, p. 141.

¹³³. Ibid.

residents.

The fourth issue pertains to relocation. Most of the planning so far has proceeded on the assumption that relocation is secondary to development. Thus, plans for relocating the residents of the site do not begin till plans for development are finalized.

The fifth issue is that of displacement both direct and indirect. Direct displacement results from demolition of neighborhoods and affordable housing which reduces the overall stock of affordable housing, even if new housing units are built. Indirect displacement is caused by changes in the housing market such as evictions, rent increases, inflationary pressures on private and public housing that drive rents up beyond what people can pay. Changes in federal government policies and economic conditions beyond the control of local governments as cutbacks in welfare payments, cut backs in housing subsidies, and joblessness force people to look for cheaper housing or become homeless. Any development or redevelopment effort has to be sensitive to direct and indirect displacement that may result from it.

The sixth issue emerges from the comparison of the areas within the downtown that were not touched by renewal and those which were renewed. Mixed land uses, residential uses in particular, contribute more to the viability of an area or a neighborhood. One primary use is ineffectual in sustaining an area or creating diversity.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

The recommendations address the issues that have resulted from renewal as well as restructuring. Acknowledging the fact that some redevelopment is inevitable and that global restructuring and national policies that a mid-sized city is affected by undermines the local government's capacity to respond there are some steps that a mid-sized city could take to ensure that the negative impacts of large forces are minimized.

The recommendations follow the same format as the evaluation and include four aspects of improvement in living conditions, progress in life, relocation plan, and public participation.

IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING CONDITIONS:

As evident from the latest efforts at revitalization in Middletown, (the North End Renewal Plan), a great emphasis is laid on physical improvements. The redevelopment plan has to incorporate the following-

- Before any interventions are proposed within the neighborhood, neighborhood features have to be evaluated in detail to find out the cultural and social links that exist within the neighborhood.
- Relocation of people has to be accompanied by relocating the essential services which the residents depend on, especially those existing in the North End now. Conversely relocating the services such as soup kitchen and the homeless shelter has to be sensitive to aspects of accessibility of these facilities and location of clientele. Relocation plans have to respond to other ties that the residents might have to the area such as relatives and families there, local institutions, businesses and so on.
- Any new housing that is built to accommodate the disadvantaged low-income residents displaced from the redeveloped neighborhood should incorporate social services and amenities that are needed to serve these residents.
- Planning for the development of more affordable housing with adequate facilities to house the de-institutionalized persons who are migrating to Middletown due to the presence of the soup kitchen has to begin now, before the problem assumes greater proportion.

PROGRESS IN LIFE:

To achieve this the city government has to focus on improving the condition of people in terms of jobs, employment and education. Physical improvements will not achieve this objective. The recommendations proposed are,

- Introduce job training/job support services to the people in the neighborhoods which have declined, especially in the North End, and other areas which have concentrations of social problems as tracts 5415, 5416, 5417 and 5418. The job training should

concentrate on sectors which are growing in Middletown, especially service related jobs. As a response to the growing single-family households, provide affordable day care facilities in close proximity to these training centers.

- As a response to the low-levels of education in North End and tracts 5416, 5417, 5418 and 5418 promote adult education centers and evening classes. The education has to focus on vocational training which would enable residents to find jobs and be self supporting.
- The curricula in public schools should also emphasize more on vocational training so that high school graduates are competitive in the present job market.

Relocation Plans:

Accepting the fact that relocation is an integral part of any development and will happen in some form or the other there are three recommendations.

- To ensure better communication the city agency should ensure extensive out-reach efforts to contact as many families as possible and make them aware of any plan that affects them. This could be achieved by identifying liaison officers or contact persons in the planning agency and among the residents community.
- Relocation payments should be such that they are fair and achieve their objectives. Instead of the easy alternative of lump sum payments, the city should actually formulate plans to ensure that the displaced residents are assisted in the relocation process by helping them find alternative accommodations, and assisting them in moving from one place to another.
- The city should make sure realistic choices are offered to the displaced residents. This can be ensured by involving a few residents from the community to assist in identifying alternative locations and assessing the values of the properties.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION:

The city should ensure that the residents for whom plans are being drawn are involved in the process of planning from the inception of the plan. This will ensure that

the plans address the residents' concern and also generate less opposition from the residents.

- The city should facilitate formation of community organizations in each neighborhood identified in the city.
- One or more persons from each community organization should be appointed as a liaison between the community and the planning office. Meetings of liaison officers and planning officials at frequent intervals will ensure that the residents' concerns are voiced and that each community has a say in the decisions which affect them. Such a network would ensure that planing is more democratic and not "top down".

PHYSICAL CHARACTER AND LAND USE.

The city should ensure that any future redevelopment incorporates residential uses with other uses. Small scale flexible built form ensures more meaningful integration of uses, and inclusion of residential uses encourages economic prosperity of commercial uses by ensuring a built in customer base.

These recommendations require that a comprehensive planning is done and all departments within the city work in concert towards the good of the communities. Dedication of city officials and a strong leadership are imperative for the city to overcome the problems brought in by renewal, restructuring and cutbacks in federal grants in Middletown.

CONCLUSION.

The case study of Middletown and observation of current planning practices in other mid-sized towns indicate that certain recommendations can be extended to all mid-sized cities in general. Planners and city officials in a mid-sized city have an extremely challenging responsibility to ensure that the residents are well- equipped to face the consequences of global changes, over which neither the planners in mid-sized cities nor the residents have any control. The planners' job is made more onerous by the fact that there has been a lack of any directive or assistance from the federal government in the

recent years. Under these circumstances the planners and policy makers in mid sized cities have to be sensitive to the needs and concerns of the minority populations and ensure that they are integrated in the main stream. Planners and officials should ascertain that the minority populations are well equipped to face the transformations brought in by the economic restructuring. This is crucial in light of the fact that unlike larger cities, minority populations in mid-sized cities are politically and economically weak and do not have a forum where they can voice their concerns. To effectively address the problems facing the city, the planners have to establish efficient channels of communications with the residents to ascertain their needs and aspirations.

Further, planners in mid-sized cities have to acknowledge the economic, social and physical differences between a large city and a mid sized city while drafting any plan. Revitalization plans adopted in large size cities might not have the same results in a mid-sized city. Plans for a mid-sized city have to ensure that the magnitude of change resulting from any intervention is small and responds to the fragile local physical, economic and social environments.

Finally, the success of any plan for the city will depend on two aspects, the will of planners to genuinely address the problems facing the residents and the initiatives of the local communities to voice their concerns. The planners have the responsibility to ensure that the planning process not only incorporates mechanisms to ensure that the residents are aware and well informed about the plans but also encourages public participation in the planning process.

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APPENDIX I.

DETAILS OF REVITALIZATION PROGRAMS:

The Highway Act:

The Highway Act of 1956 granted federal funds to undertake highway construction. As a result of this act, which established the interstate expressway system, the tempo of road building increased by leaps and bounds and for the first time urban roads gained priority over rural roads. The federal subsidy, which provided 90 percent federal funds for 10 percent local matching funds led to increased highway building in localities all over the country. Combined federal and state expenditures for highway construction tripled to \$2.07 billion by 1962 from \$718 million in 1955.¹³⁴

The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, a result of opposition to urban highways and the deteriorating conditions of mass transit, subsidized modes of transportation other than the automobile and authorized the federal government to award capital grants to cities for mass transit programs.¹³⁵ Later, the 1975 Highway Act also permitted highway transit monies to be used for mass transit, although with a less favorable matching grant¹³⁶ as indicated by the \$3.3 billion in 1980 mass transit funds as compared to \$8.4 billion allocated for highway construction in the same year¹³⁷

The Federal Housing Programs.

The Federal Housing Act of 1937, was the beginning of federal initiatives to subsidize housing. The federal programs during the 1960's included mortgage guarantee under FHA, mortgage interest rate subsidies to landlords, developers (section 235 and 236) and low-income homeowners, construction loan subsidies, demand side subsidies as

¹³⁴. Altshuler et. al., 1979, p. 28.

¹³⁵. Taebel and Cornehlis, 1977.

¹³⁶. Fainstein et. al., 1986.

¹³⁷. U.S. Bureau of Census, 1981: Table 1060

rent supplements to occupants of privately owned housing.¹³⁸

Section 8 is a rent subsidy used in existing units, rehabilitated units on new construction, privately or publicly owned which pays the difference between the rent and 25% (later modified to 30%) of the tenant's adjusted gross income.

Urban Renewal:

The history of Urban renewal program, established under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act during 1954-74, can be traced back to early 1930's.

Under this program local governments used their powers of eminent domain to acquire land and resold it to private developers at a discounted price and accompanying tax abatements.

Community Development Block Grants.

The CDBG was an entitlement program which allowed eligible communities to receive grants to undertake community development projects. The funds were distributed on a formula based on population and poverty and not on a project basis. A revision of program in 1977 included older cities with deteriorating housing conditions and declining populations.

The funds were primarily for physical improvements and neighborhood-based social services. The latter was limited to initially 20% and then later 10% of the grant by HUD guidelines. Entitlement communities were given a discretion as to how to spend the funds as local elected officials were responsible for setting community priorities.

Urban Development Block Grants.

The federal government provided cities with funds if they leveraged such funds with private sector money and used both for economic development purposes. The private component had to be committed before the federal matching funds could be spent. Thus the funds were frequently used for land clearance as well as commercial

¹³⁸. Aaron, 1972.

rehabilitation.¹³⁹

Enterprise Zone.

The demarcation of an area as Enterprise Zone was based on minimum populations of the area; the jurisdictions within which it was located; poverty and eligibility for UDAG; unemployment rate of at least 1.5 times the national rate; and income levels.¹⁴⁰ These zones were given various tax incentives by the federal government for investment, new construction and ownership of property. The employer was given credit for creation of jobs and hiring disadvantaged workers. Reduction in state and local income taxes, property taxes and sales tax by the state and local governments were included in the packages.¹⁴¹

Urban Homesteading

This was a federal program that provided foreclosed federally assisted housing to households providing that they agree to live and rehabilitate the housing.¹⁴² The concept dates back to the new deal effort to decentralize the urban industrial population by providing low interest loans to unemployed workers to purchase homesteads in rural areas. The same principle was applied to solve the growing problem of housing abandonment during late 1960's when low income families were able to secure homes with low down payment and low interest loans but could not maintain the houses and subsequently abandoned them.

Neighborhood Housing Services

This model, one of the most frequently mentioned strategies for neighborhood preservation and stabilization, was originally created in Pittsburgh as a result of efforts by community activities and leaders. This was then initiated throughout the country by

¹³⁹. Meir, 1982.

¹⁴⁰. Cantor, 1985.

¹⁴¹. Siljander, 1985.

¹⁴². Kaplan, p. 30.

the Urban Reinvestment Task Force, composed of HUD, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Comptroller of Currency.¹⁴³

Other components include local government participation through capital improvements and code enforcement programs; agreement of financial institutions to reinvest in community by making market rate loans to qualified buyers and through contributions to the NHS to support operating costs; and a high risk loan fund to families who cannot meet the usual credit risk standards.¹⁴⁴

Neighborhood Strategy Areas.

This demonstration was initiated by HUD in 1978 and required cities to develop detailed revitalization plans for target neighborhoods. The cities were asked to combine public and private housing and community development resources in a way that would meet all of the neighborhood revitalization needs during the five year demonstration period. A hundred and fifty NSAs were selected in 16 cities and the assessment was done in twenty cities.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³. Varady, 1986, p. 23

¹⁴⁴. Ibid, p. 24.

¹⁴⁵. Varady, 1986, p. 27.

APPENDIX II.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN CDBG

Public participation is an important aspect of CDBG and this is achieved by inviting proposal from citizens to spend the funds. A Citizen's Advisory Committee reviews the proposals and recommends them to the common council. The Citizen Advisory Committee is made of 15-16 members appointed by the mayor and common council. Each of these members represent a particular constituency such as the handicapped, low-income, elderly, real estate, businesses, housing authority and so on. The common council and the mayor approve or disapprove the proposals.

APPENDIX III.

WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM IN MIDDLETOWN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTION PLANS.

The city of Middletown was greatly involved in the preparation of the Community Development Action Plan. Under this federal program, which started in 1968, for the first time the community experimented with having various community leaders meet and formulate goals for the community. This was a pilot program under the Democratic Administration and Connecticut got federal funding to initiate the program. Twelve special areas of study were selected, for which goals, objectives and specific programs were enumerated.

The program was disbanded in 1972 under a Republican administration. A number of proposals under transportation have materialized, but once the program was terminated in 1972, the use of CAP's (Community Action Plans) has been limited.

APPENDIX IV.

CRITERIA USED IN CLASSIFYING BUILDINGS AS DEFICIENT.

The detailed criteria used in classifying structures as deficient are based on An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing; Part 2 Appraisal of Housing Conditions; American Public Health Association, New York City, 1946.

Items which were considered to constitute major defects included the following:

Holes, open cracks, rotted or missing materials over a considerable area of the foundation, outside walls or roof;

Substantial sagging of roof;

Substantial portions of the structure out of plumb;

Extensive damage to structure by storm, flood, or fire;

No running water;

No hot running water;

No private toilet;

No private bath or shower;

Lack of properly installed heating facilities.

Structures inadequately converted to their present use, or of inadequate original construction. Inadequate original construction consists of such deficiencies as makeshift walls, lack of foundation, dirt floors, etc.

Items which were considered to constitute intermediate defects included the following:

Holes, open cracks, rotted or missing materials in the foundation, wall or roof, not over a considerable area or of substantial depth;

Shaky or unsafe porches or steps;

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Broken or missing window panes;

Rotted or loose window frames which are no long rainproof or windproof;

Rotted, missing or broken roof drains, leaders or gutters;

Unsafe or makeshift chimney (stove pipe or other uninsulated material leading directly from the stove to the outside through a hole in the roof, wall, or window;

Inside stair treads or risers, balusters or railings that are broken, loose, or missing;

Deep wear on doorsills, door frames, outside or inside steps or floors;

Exposed wiring;

Inadequate ventilation in kitchen or bathroom.

Structures having one or more major defects, or several intermediate defects were considered to be deficient.

APPENDIX V.

STRUCTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CRITERIA FOR CLEARANCE.

Since the completion of CRP surveys, the Urban Renewal Administration has revised its criteria with respect to the eligibility of specific areas for clearance treatment. To quote the Manual:

"In a built-up project area or sizable part thereof which is proposed for clearance and redevelopment, one of the following conditions must exist:

- (1) More than 50 percent of the buildings, not including accessory outbuildings, must be structurally substandard to a degree requiring clearance as determined by specific criteria consistent with the definition set forth below.
- (2) More than 20 percent of the buildings must be structurally substandard to a degree requiring clearance, and additional clearance, in an amount bringing the total to more than 50 percent of the buildings, must be warranted to effectively remove blighting influences such as:
 - (a) Inadequate street layout.
 - (b) Incompatible uses or land use relationships.
 - (c) Overcrowding of buildings on the land.
 - (d) Excessive dwelling unit density.
 - (e) Obsolete buildings not suitable for improvement or conversion.
 - (f) Other identified hazards to health and safety and to the general well-being of the community.

"Buildings classified as 'structurally substandard to a degree requiring clearance' must contain defects in structural elements and/or a combination of deficiencies in essential utilities and facilities, light and ventilation, fire protection (including adequate egress), layout and condition of interior partitions, or similar factors, which defects and/or deficiencies are of sufficient total significance to justify clearance."

The term "deficient", or "with deficiencies", as used in Chapter 3 refers to the evaluation of structural condition only. Those structures categorized herein as deficient include those which would also qualify under the above quoted criteria as structurally substandard to a degree requiring clearance.

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This terminology is therefore compatible with Urban Renewal Administration requirements as amended to November 20, 1963.

No attempt has been made here to delineate specifically those areas eligible for clearance. Chapter 3 does discuss those environmental conditions which would have to be corrected to remove blighting influences. These factors might require the clearance of some standard structures. The particular manner in which this would be done could only be determined as a part of detailed project planning. Conditions in the first priority study areas have been considered in terms of the new criteria. Comparison of current Federal requirements with the condition of structures in each of the various sections and the environmental conditions which will have to be corrected indicates that all areas tentatively discussed in this report as possible clearance areas would meet all of the applicable URA criteria governing clearance areas.

APPENDIX VI.

PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN WITH CBDG MONIES. 1985-1991.

ENTITLEMENT 1985

Hous. Auth. Enclose Interior ^R	398-498-150	
Hous. Auth. Walkways ^R	398-498-151	
Community Health Cntr. Sprinkler ^R	398-498-152	
New Horiz. 2nd Stage Shelter ^R	398-498-153	
Hous. Col. Grp. Facility ^R	398-498-154	
Mixed Use Program ^R	398-498-155	\$.02 BALANCE
Gen. Program Administration	398-498-156	
Salvation Army HVAC	398-498-157	
HA Long Hill School Demol. ^R	398-498-158	
Lrv. Community Center	398-498-159	
S. Home Clerk of the Works	398-498-160	
S. Home Consultant	398-498-161	
S. Home Advertisement	398-498-162	
S. Home Contractor	398-498-163	
S. Home Landscaping	398-498-164	
New Shelter Site/Mayor's Office	398-498-165	ONLY BALANCE
Repairs/Shepherd Home	398-498-166	

ENTITLEMENT 1986

Residential Rehab.	394-494-151	
Mixed Use Rehab.	394-494-152	
St. Vincent dePaul Place ^S	394-494-153	
Nehemiah Housing Corp. ^S	394-494-154	
Community Health Center ^S	394-494-155	
Gen. Program Administration	394-494-157	
Mercy Housing and Shelter Corp.	394-494-158	
GMCC Rental Rehab. Admin.	394-494-160	
YMCA Stair / Bath Renovation ^R	394-494-161	
Financial Account Coordinator ^S	394-494-162	
New Shelter Site/Mayor's Office	394-494-163	BALANCE

ENTITLEMENT 1987

Residential Rehab. Program	392-492-151	
Mixed Use Rehab. Program	392-492-152	
HA Card Key System ^R	392-492-153	BALANCE
HA Enclose Balconies ^R	392-492-154	BALANCE
Mercy Housing Corp.	392-492-155	
YMCA Stair Treds ^R	392-492-156	
YMCA Restroom Renovation ^R	392-492-157	
Green Street Sprinkler ^S	392-492-158	
St. Vincent dePaul Place ^S	392-492-159	

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ENTITLEMENT 1987 (CONTINUED)

Community Health Center ^S	392-492-160
Long Hill School Demolition	392-492-161
Gen. Program Administration	392-492-162
Residential Rehab. Admin.	392-492-163
Mixed Use Rehab. Program	392-492-164
YMCA Res. Roof ^R	392-492-165
Green Court Improvements ^R	392-492-166
New Shelter Site	392-492-167

ENTITLEMENT 1988

1988 Entitlement Grant	388-488-150
Community Health Center	388-488-151
St. Vincent dePaul Salaries ^S	388-488-152
Shepard Home Salaries ^S	388-488-153
Connection Counselor ^S	388-488-154
YMCA Roof, Window Replacement ^S	388-488-155
Residential Rehabilitation	388-488-156
GMCC Rental Rehab. Admin.	388-488-157
Neighborhood Plan Study	388-488-158
CAGM Johnson School Rehab.	388-488-159
MDC Financial Coordinator	388-488-160
MDC General Program Admin.	388-488-161 ONLY BALANCE
GMCC Res. Rehab. Admin.	388-488-162

ENTITLEMENT 1989

YMCA Door Replacement ^R	387-487-150
Rushford Center Acquisition	387-487-151
CAGM Johnson School Rehab.	387-487-152
HA Ceramic Room Add.	387-487-153
Police Drug Abuse Education	387-487-154
Community Health Center ^R	387-487-155
NAACP Drug Education	387-487-156
GMCC Rental Rehab. Admin.	387-487-157
MDC Fin. Acct. Coordinator	387-487-158
MDC Gen. Program Administration	387-487-159
Red Cross ^S	387-487-160
Mercy Housing ^S	387-487-161
YMCA Emergency Exit ^R	387-487-162

ENTITLEMENT 1990

Red Cross Shelter Manager ^S	393-493-151
Community Health/Homeless Hlth Care ^S	393-493-152
Community Health/Dental Clinic ^S	393-493-153
Mercy Housing/Shepherd Home Salaries	393-493-154
Mercy Housing/Shepherd Home Park & Counc.	393-493-155
St. Vincent dePaul Salaries ^S	393-493-156

appendix VI - contd.

ENTITLEMENT 1990 (CONTINUED)

North End Assoc./Block Watch	393-493-157
Connection/Rehab.Treatment Facility	393-493-158
Connection/Facility Salaries	393-493-159
DARE Program	393-493-160
Housing Auth./Sr. Center Elevator ^R	393-493-161
General Program Adm.	393-493-162
New Shelter/Mayor's Office	393-493-163

CDBG PROGRAM INCOME -- Part of 1990 Entitlement

Mercy Housing/Shepherd Home Sys.	396-497-151
YMCA/Door Replacement ^R	396-497-152
MARC/Fire Equipment	396-497-153
CAGM/Green St. Renovations	396-497-154
Equity in Housing/Housing Acquisition	396-497-155
Equity in Housing 9/91	396-497-156

ENTITLEMENT 1991

Mx County Chamber of Commerce ^S	366-466-300
Red Cross/Shelter Mgr ^S	366-466-301
Kuhn Center Work Crew ^S	366-466-302
Sexual Crisis Service ^O	366-466-303
N. End Arts Rising ^O	366-466-304
D.A.R.E. Program ^O	366-466-305
TCF Inc, Affordable Housing	366-466-306
MARC, New Site ^O	366-466-307
Mercy Housing and Shelter ^R	366-466-308
GMCC Rental Rehab ^R	366-466-309
MDC Program Administration ^O	366-466-310
YMCA Replacement Doors ^R	366-466-311
Oddfellows Prop Acquisition ^O	366-466-312

ENTITLEMENT 1992

Chamber Workfare Supervisor ^S	399-499-150
McDonough School Playground Improvements ^R	399-499-151
Red Cross Case Manager ^S	399-499-152
Jobs Loan Program	399-499-153
Kuhn Work Crew ^S	399-499-154
HIV Test/Counsel ^O	399-499-155
NAACP/Drug Awareness ^O	399-499-156
Middletown Police Department/DARE Program	399-499-157
MARC/Utilities ^O	399-499-158
Connection Salaries ^S	399-499-159
MDC Program Administration ^O	399-499-160
Rushford Center Improvements ^R	399-499-161
Mercy/Shepherd Home Improvements ^R	399-499-162
YMCA Improvements ^R	399-499-163

R - RENOVATIONS

S - SALARIES

O - OPERATING COSTS

APPENDIX VII.

EXPENDITURE ON RENEWAL IN MIDDLETOWN.

EXPENDITURE FOR URBAN RENEWAL

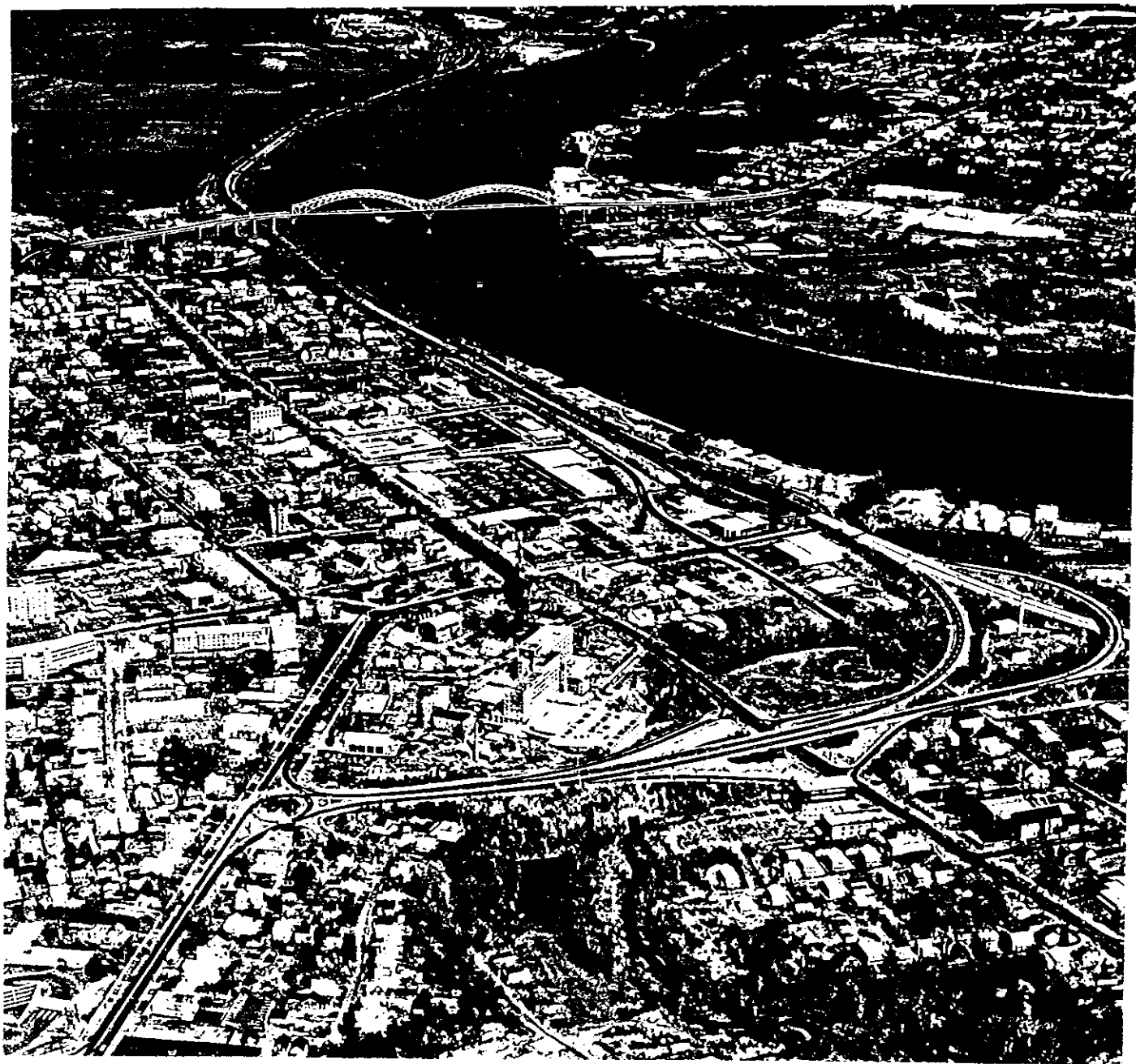
TOTAL IN \$\$	COURT SQUARE 50'S	CENTER ST. 60'S	SOUTH END 70'S	NORTH END 80'S		
FEDERAL		2,112,000	2,650,000			
STATE		458,000	450,000			
CITY	222,500	597,000	450,000	\$10,796,600		
TOTAL	222,500	3,167,000	3,550,000	\$10,796,600		

APPENDIX VIII.

VIEWS OF DOWNTOWN, MIDDLETOWN.

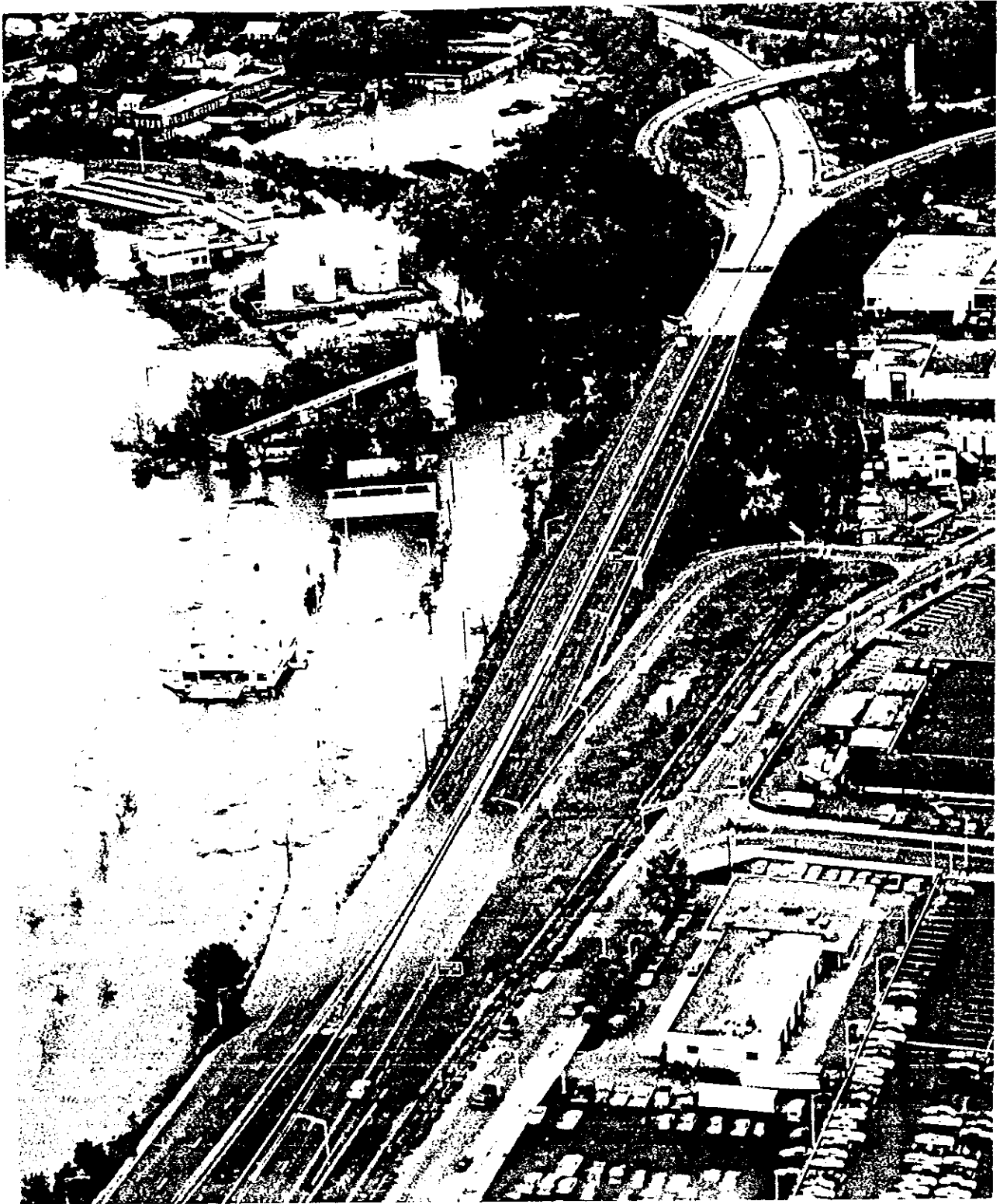


DOWNTOWN BEFORE RENEWAL

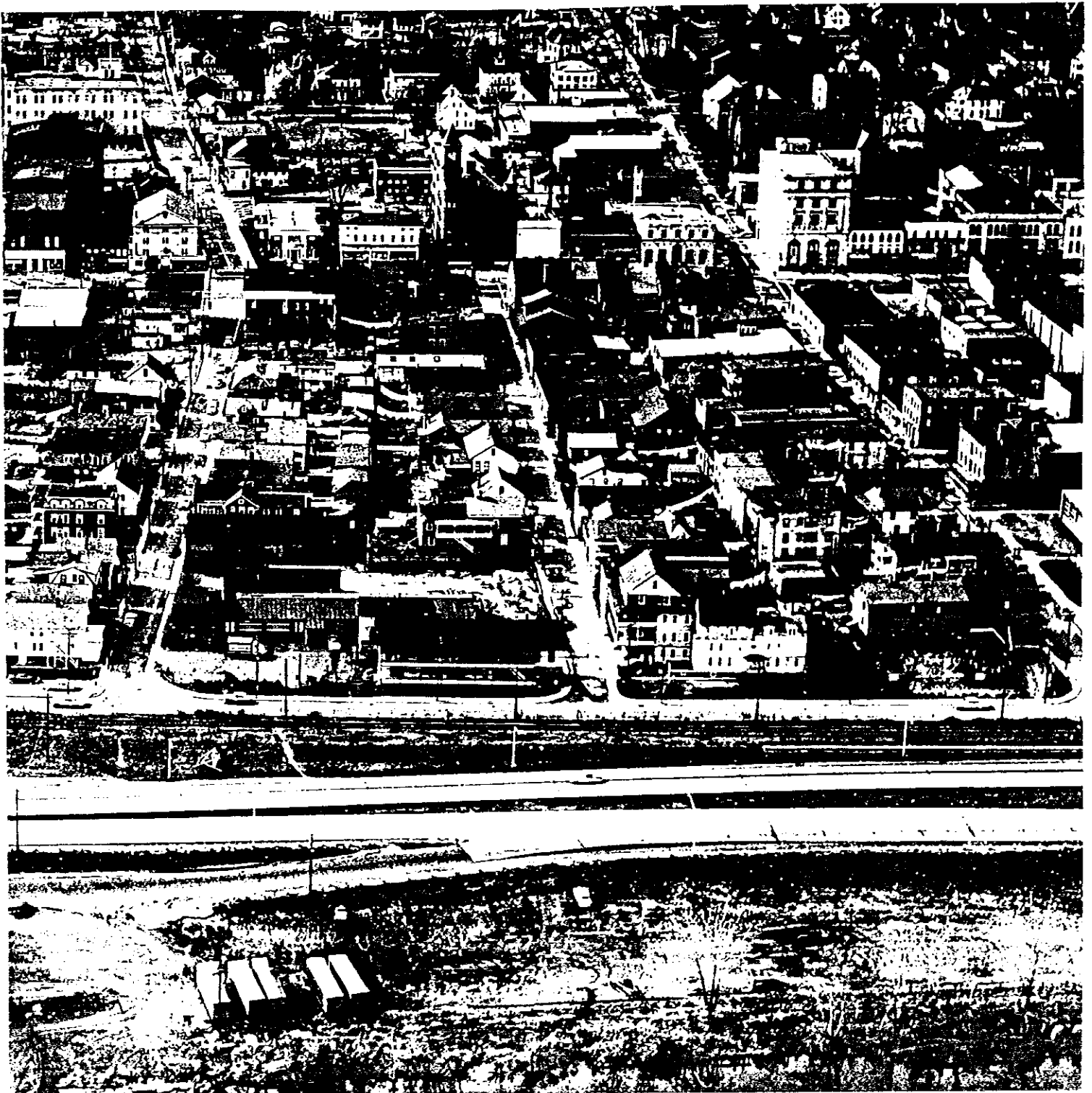


DOWNTOWN AFTER RENEWAL

appendix VIII - contd.



VIEW OF THE FLOODED ROUTE 9 WHICH REPLACED POLISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE 1960'S.



CENTER STREET AND SOUTH END NEIGHBORHOODS BEFORE RENEWAL.